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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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28 December 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

BCP DAILY ON ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

AU151211 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 11 November on pages 1 and 2 carries a 3,700-word editorial entitled "Independence and Responsibility in Economic Leadership and Management." Stating that "the economic approach reflects the objective needs of our country at the present stage," the editorial requires a broader application of this approach in the country's economic activity, "and first of all in the functioning and management of the socialist enterprise as one of the basic subjects of production relations."

The editorial points out that "it is no secret that Bulgaria has exhausted almost all of its resources of intensive development." Against this background "perfecting the organization of production and its management" is presented as a "reserve which we have not seriously tapped so far."

The need to "renew the economic structure and perfect the content of its units" is presented as a "decisive factor" in intensifying all branches of national economy. The editorial stresses the growing importance of "independence and responsibility as a dialectical unity," and denounces "methods of petty patronage," which contradict "the great goals" of Bulgarian economy. The simultaneous functioning of the "mechanism of self-regulation and the mechanism of regulation," should be subjected to the national interests of the country.

Further on, the editorial points out the importance of developing the initiative of the economic enterprises, stressing the responsibility of the plants in preparing their own plans by themselves, and independently seeking trade partners and signing agreements. In this context, the editorial stresses the "urgent need" to create a "legal-normative way" to affect the management of plants producing certain goods exclusively and compel them to not refuse orders from consumers, as well as to produce the goods in the required quantity and quality.

The importance of "creating brigades of a new type" is also pointed out. In this context, the importance of "serious changes in the economic trade relations" is emphasized.

The editorial maintains that "price-forming in Bulgaria lags behind the scientific criteria." The result is prices which do not correspond with the law of value. The price of electric energy in Bulgaria is presented as an example,

stressing that "the influence of the price of electric power over its use was brought down to zero, and therefore electric power terribly wasted."

Another factor which hinders economic development, pointed out by the editorial, is the inflated quantity of workers. "We should not fear unemployment--under socialist conditions this is impossible," stresses the editorial and demands "to absolutely cut down the quantity of workers" at the plants, emphasizing that "this is the right of the plant and the collective."

The final factor in improving production and developing economy, pointed out by the editorial, is "the training of cadres." The importance of this factor is analyzed against the background of "expanding the independence of the enterprises, which will expand the responsibility for the decisions adopted and the application of economic cost accounting."

In conclusion, the editorial points out that "the BCP's innovative approaches and the maturity of the workers' class and agrarian workers, as well as the political atmosphere of social activity on the eve of the 13th BCP Congress, are guarantees for reaching the goals" analyzed in the editorial.

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CSO: 2200/50

BULGARIA

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL HEAD ARRIVES IN SOFIA

AU201920 Sofia BTA in English 1822 GMT 20 Nov 85

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA)--"The World Peace Movement is in Upsurge," said Mr Romesh Chandra, who has arrived in Sofia today. "We are full of optimism and confidence and we are preparing for new actions for peace in 1986, which has been declared by the U.N. for International Year of Peace," said he.

The president of the World Peace Council also pointed out that in the course of the numerous actions during the autumn against the arms race, against the U.S. "star wars" plans, for aversion of the nuclear threat, a new tendency has made itself felt towards greater closeness and rallying of the various peace and anti-military movements, groups and coalitions in the world. This fact, according to Mr Chandra, is especially significant.

In the interview with a BTA reporter, Mr Romesh Chandra said that he is following with great attention and with definite hope the Soviet-Ameriman summit in Geneva.

The president of the World Peace Council arrived in Sofia in connection with the meeting of representatives of the socialist countries' national peace committees, which will start in Sofia tomorrow. Stressing that the socialist countries play a considerable role for the preservation of peace on the planet, Mr Chandra voiced his firm belief that the meeting will end with definite contribution to the struggle for peace.

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BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES GREETINGS FROM PDRY LEADER

AU181210 Bulgaria RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Nov 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] On the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty for Friendship and Cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PDRY, Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has received a telegram from 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, general secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the PDRY Supreme People's Council.

In the name of the Central Committee and the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party, the Supreme People's Council Presidium, and personally in his own name, the PDRY leader sends best wishes to Comrade Todor Zhivkov, to the BCP Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo, and to the State Council of our country. The telegram gives a high assessment of the relations between our friendly countries and peoples, an expression of which was the signing of the treaty which was a new step in the development of bilateral relations in all fields.

The telegram stresses that the treaty not only opens new areas for the development of cooperation and friendship between our parties and countries, but is also a guarantee for friendly cooperation with the socialist states, led by the Soviet Union, and a confirmation of the sound basis for the development of the revolutionary processes in the PDRY. It will continue in the future to provide under opportunities for the strengthening and expansion of our fruitful cooperation in various fields.

We warmly greet the fourth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty for Friendship and Cooperation, congratulate your people, and welcome the international relations between our parties and countries, based on scientific socialism, the final section of the telegram states.

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BULGARIA

ARMY DAILY ON USSR ROCKET FORCES DAY

AU201812 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 19 Nov 85 pp 1, 4

[Marshal of Artillery Georgi Peredelskiy article "Specially for NARODNA ARMIYA": "A Force Capable of Crushing Any Aggressor--19 November--Day of the USSR Rocket Forces and Artillery"]

[Excerpts] Since the war 40 years have passed. But in all these years peaceful life has continued in a complex, sometimes explosive international situation, made incandescent by the reactionary forces of imperialism led by the United States. The guns' muzzles had not yet cooled when they began the "cold war" against the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving countries, at first blackmailed them with the atomic bomb, then started threatening them with Pershing and cruise missiles, and now with space weapons. It is natural for the Soviet people, having suffered such a grievous war, to show concern for the defense of its homeland. Therefore, the necessary answering measures were taken to guarantee the security of the country, its allies, and friends. Nuclear missile weapons became the basis of the USSR Armed Forces' might.

Formed in 1960, the Strategic Rocket Forces are today a powerful force capable of crushing any aggressor. Soviet strategic missiles have a practically unlimited range and great accuracy. The medium-range missiles are also characterized by great destructive power and are capable of hitting their targets accurately.

The Soviet Strategic Rocket Forces are constantly ready to deal the aggressor a retaliatory blow--they are on continuous fighting alert in the defense of the homeland's security.

The other services of the USSR Armed Forces have also changed. The basis of the ground troops' firepower comprises operational [word indistinct] weapons. Conventional artillery is also being improved as an effective means of striking the enemy on the battlefield. Modern artillery systems are outstanding for their great maneuverability, long range, and accuracy. There has been continuous growth in the fighting capabilities of the missile and artillery complexes in the air-defense, air force and navy troops.

Today there exists an approximate balance between the USSR and U.S. strategic nuclear forces. Not only do we acknowledge this, but also the other side.

A report to Congress made by the Committee of the U.S. Armed Forces' Chiefs of Staffs in 1984 states: "At this period approximate parity exists between the United States and the Soviet Union." Even after the 50 percent reduction in corresponding nuclear weapons proposed by the USSR, the approximate balance will be preserved but, of course, at a lower level. Here the USSR agrees to the United States possessing a certain superiority in delivery vehicles (1680 against 1250), but wants both countries to possess the same number of warheads --up to 6000. Thus, an approximate strategic balance will be achieved between the USSR and the United States.

As regards medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, here too one can speak of the existence of an approximate balance. The NATO member-countries have 387 medium-range missiles with 739 warheads in Europe. The Soviet Union has 373 missiles, including 243 SS-20's in the European zone. If aircraft are added, then NATO has at its disposal more medium-range delivery systems carrying nuclear charges (approximately 3000, as against 2000). Here, too, the Soviet Union is ready to take--by mutual agreement--radical measures, including the complete removal from Europe of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons.

Such is the objective reality. In striving to curb the arms race by the route of negotiation, at the same time the Soviet Union is unable to display naivety and rely only on the verbal assurances of the U.S. leaders, behind the screen of which they are creating strike weapons in space and continuing to increase their strategic nuclear missile potential. "If this continues," Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, wrote recently in PRAVDA, "The Soviet Union will be obliged to take measures in response in the field of both its offensive and other weapons, not excluding defensive weapons, among which are weapons based in space. The experience from the war and the postwar years shows convincingly that the Soviet Union is capable of creating any weapons on which the imperialists rely."

The Soviet Union and its allies, as the Sofia declaration of the Warsaw Pact member-countries underlines, are not striking to achieve military superiority, but also will not permit a disturbance of the military-strategic balance in the world arena. At the same time they will strive consistently for a continuous reduction in the level of this balance, for a reduction in the number of weapons on both sides, and to ensure the security of all peoples.

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BULGARIA

PZPR AUDITING COMMISSION CONCLUDES VISIT

AU261144 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Nov 85 p 2

[Text] At the invitation of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission, a delegation of the PZPR Central Auditing Commission, led by its chairman, Kazimierz Morawski, visited Bulgaria from 18 to 22 November. The delegation was received by Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary.

During its visit the delegation had talks with the leadership of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission, headed by its chairman, Stoyan Karadzhov, and visited the Vratsa Okrug BCP Committee, the Sofia City Dimitrov District BCP Committee, the Knezha City BCP Committee, and the Sofia plant on telephone and telegraph equipment.

During the meetings information was exchanged on the tasks which are being solved at the present by the BCP and the PZPR, and on the activity of their control-auditing organs, and satisfaction was expressed with the constant development of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the PZPR.

On 22 November the Polish delegation departed. At Sofia Airport it was seen off by Comrade Stoyan Karadzhov and responsible associates of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission.

Wladyslaw Napieraj, Polish ambassador to Bulgaria, was also at the airport.

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BULGARIA

OGNYAN DOYNOV'S ACTIVITIES IN IRAN REPORTED

Factory Tour

LD261704 Tehran IRNA in English 1430 GMT 26 Nov 85

[Text] Tehran, 26 Nov, IRNA--The visiting Bulgarian minister of machine building and electronics, Ognyan Doynov toured Iran-Khodro bus manufacturing factory here Tuesday.

The Bulgarian minister accompanied by officials from the Ministry of Heavy Industry discussed commercial issues with Iran-Khodro management.

Doynov arrived here Sunday at the head of a 20-member delegation and has so far held talks with several senior Iranian officials.

Meets Musavi

LD251413 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] The Central News Unit reports that the Bulgarian minister of machine building [Ognyan Doynov], who is in Tehran, today met Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi. During the meeting, the Bulgarian minister of machine building briefed the prime minister about Bulgaria's industrial characteristics and about his government's desire to expand industrial relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Talks on Expanding Trade

LD252237 Tehran IRNA in English 1640 GMT 25 Nov 85

["Bulgaria To Import Non-Oil Goods From Iran"--IRNA headline]

[Text] Tehran, 25 Nov, IRNA--Bulgaria is ready to purchase automobiles, cotton and copper from Iran, said the Bulgarian minister of machine-building and electronics, Ognyan Doynov, in his meeting with the Iranian minister of commerce, Hasan Ja'fari, here Monday.

Doynov arrived here Sunday afternoon at the head of a 20-member Bulgarian delegation.

The volume of annual trade between the two countries in recent years has reached 500 million dollars. Bulgaria imports 1,250,000 tons of Iranian oil annually.

Bulgarian minister also met with prime minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi Monday. During their talks, Doynov informed Musavi about Bulgaria's interest in expanding industrial cooperation with the Islamic Republic.

Premier Musavi, said that outlooks for expansion of cooperation between Iran and Bulgaria are promising. He also briefed the Bulgarian official on Iran's industrial achievements in the recent years.

Doynov has invited Iranian minister of commerce to pay a visit to Bulgaria which invitation has been accepted by Ja'fari.

Meets Velayati

LD262356 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 26 Nov 85

[Text] The Bulgarian minister of machine building, who visited Iran, met Foreign Minister Veyati today. The two countries' relations were discussed during the meeting, which was held in friendly circumstances.

Expanding Ties Discussed

LD261705 Tehran IRNA in English 1638 GMT 26 Nov 85

[Text] Tehran, 26 Nov, IRNA--The visiting Bulgarian minister of machine building and electronics, Ognyan Doynov met and conferred with Iran's Agriculture Minister 'Ali 'Abbas Zali here Tuesday.

At the meeting, the two expressed willingness to expand Irano-Bulgarian economic-agricultural relations and agreed to make further efforts in that regard.

Meeting With Gharazi

LD262357 Tehran IRNA in English 1847 GMT 26 Nov 85

[Text] Tehran, 26 Nov, IRNA--Visiting Bulgarian minister of machine building and electronics Ognyan Doynov met Iranian Minister of Post, Telegraph and Telephone Mohammad Gharazi here Tuesday.

Discussed in the meeting was future bilateral cooperation in different fields including satellites and previously signed protocols between the two countries.

'Defects' in Bulgarian Devices

LD282110 Tehran IRNA in English 1500 GMT 28 Nov 85

[Text] Tehran, 28 Nov, IRNA--Bulgaria Minister of Machine-building and Electronics Ogyan Doynov met and conferred here Thursday with Minister of Energy Mohammed Taki Banki.

In the meeting, Banki briefed the Bulgarian minister on the Islamic Republic's war policy as well as cooperation with friendly countries.

The minister of energy also informed Doynov of the "certain" defects in electronic devices made in Bulgaria.

Doynov thanked Banki for the criticism and expressed the hope that the shortcomings would be soon eliminated and would not cause a rupture in bilateral cooperation.

Doynov Ends Visit, Praises Talks

LD291425 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 29 Nov 85

[Excerpt] Mr Ogyan Doynov, the Bulgarian minister of machine building and a member of the Politburo, who came to Iran at the head of a high-ranking delegation, left Tehran this morning and was seen off by Mr Behzad Nabavi, the heavy industries minister. Before leaving Tehran, the Bulgarian minister was interviewed at Mehrabad airport by a Central News Unit correspondent. About the outcome of his trip to the Islamic Republic of Iran, he said: Our trip to Iran was very useful, and this visit will assist the expansion of economic relations between Iran and Bulgaria by increasing the volume of exports and imports, of technological transfers, and by joint industrial activities, because there are many common points.

The Bulgarian minister of machine building added: A fresh point which was raised during this visit, in the course of our talks, and which was solved positively, was the issue of increasing Bulgaria's nonoil imports from Iran. Thanks to the efforts made by both countries, success was achieved and coordination will pave the way for signing the protocol of the two countries' joint commission.

Mr Nabavi was also interviewed by our correspondent on the outcome of the Bulgarian delegation's trip to Iran.

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CSO: 2200/50

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

LUKANOV RECEIVES ANGOLAN MINISTER--Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received yesterday Rodeth dos Santos, secretary of state for social affairs of Angola. Discussed were the possibilities for expanding cooperation between the two countries in the social field. Georgi Evgeniev, chairman of the Committee for Labor and Social Work [name and position as published], was present at the meeting. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Oct 85 p 2 AU] /7358

BALEV AT TURGOVISHTE MEETING--A plenum of the BCP Okrug Committee was held yesterday in Turgovishte. Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, took part in the plenum. Ivan Gruev, first secretary of the BCP Okrug Committee, was released from his post due to his transfer to other responsible work. Evtim Krustev was elected first secretary. [Text] [Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 85 p 3 AU] /7358

SED WORKING GROUP VISIT--Georgi Atanasov candidate member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received the visiting working group from the SED Central Committee headed by Fritz Mueller, head of the SED Central Committee "Cadres" Department. During the talk, which proceeded in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, the two sides exchanged information on the experience of the two fraternal parties in the field of party-organizational work. Egon Rommel, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR to Bulgaria, was also among those present during the talk. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Sep 85 p 2 AU] /7358

YORDANOV RETURN FROM MOSCOW--Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, as well as chairman of the Committee of Culture, returned from Moscow yesterday. He held meetings and talks with Petr Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of culture, during his stay in the Soviet capital. At Sofia airport Georgi Yordanov was met by Leonid Kerestdzhyants, minister-councillor at the USSR Embassy in Sofia, among other officials. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Oct 85 p 8 AU] /7358

LUKANOV, MAROTHY MEETING--Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Bulgarian section of the Bulgarian-Hungarian Commission for Scientific-Technical Cooperation, met last night Laszlo Marothy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary and chairman of the Hungarian section of the commission. Matters were discussed concerning bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Oct 85 p 6 AU] /7358

STANISHEV RECEIVES CSSR YOUTH LEADER--On 10 October Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, received Jaroslav Jeneral, chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR Socialist Youth Union, who is visiting Bulgaria in connection with the second week of friendship between Bulgarian and CSSR youth, which is taking place now. [Excerpt] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Oct 85 p 8 AU] /7358

YORDANOV RETURN FROM BUDAPEST--Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture and leader of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the European Cultural Forum, returned to Bulgaria yesterday. Among those meeting him at Sofia airport was Gyula Gyovai, the Hungarian ambassador to Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Oct 85 p 2 AU] /7358

YORDANOV MEETS INDIAN OFFICIAL--Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee of Culture, yesterday received (Ragundan Lao Batia), general secretary of the All-Indian Committee of the Indian National Congress (I). He is chairman of the Indian-Bulgarian Friendship Society. The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 85 p 6 AU] /7358

TSANOV AT VIDIN MEETING--A plenum of the Vidin BCP Okrug Committee was held on 27 September in Vidin town. It discussed problems pertaining to the further intensification of agriculture and food industry in the okrug for the period up to 1990. Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the National Agro-Industrial Union Central Council, attended the meeting. In his statement Vasil Tsanov dwelled on the methods of transforming agriculture in the spirit of the requirements imposed by the BCP Central Committee February and March plenums. The plenum adopted a program for the intensification of agriculture in Vidin okrug at an accelerated pace for the period up to 1990. [Excerpts] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Sep 85 p 6 AU] /7358

U.S. ENVOY ON SUMMIT RESULTS--Sofia, 23 Nov (BTA)--Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, received Ambassador Warren Zimmerman who briefed him on the U.S. assessment of the results of the meeting between Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Mr Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America. The meeting was attended by Mr Melvyn Levitsky, the U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 23 Nov 85 AU] /7358

PLIGHT OF BULGARIAN TURKS--The allegations to the effect that the Turks in Bulgaria are becoming Bulgarianized on a voluntary basis do not reflect the truth. This was stated by Mehmet Cavus, the chairman of the Solidarity and Culture Association of Balkan Turks, at a news conference in Istanbul today. He pointed out that close to 2 million Turks have been Bulgarianized forcibly since the Bulgarianization campaign started last December. He added that besides changing the Turks' names, the Bulgarian authorities were replacing the Turkish names of districts, villages, avenues, and streets with Bulgarian names. He also charged that numerous Islamic works have been destroyed in Bulgaria. Cavus said that the Association is exerting efforts to make the world public aware of these facts. He expressed the hope that the world public will not remain indifferent to the injustices to which the Bulgarian Turks are being subjected. Later, five Bulgarian Turks who took refuge in Turkey discussed the oppression of the Turks in Bulgaria at the news conference.

[Text] [Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 2100 GMT 14 Nov 85 TA] /7358

BULGARIAN-INDIAN COMMITTEE ENDS SESSION--Sofia, 2 Dec (BTA)--The ninth session of the Joint Bulgaro-Indian Subcommission for Techno-Scientific Cooperation was held in Sofia from November 27 to December 2. The session drew the conclusion that the bilateral relations have developed successfully. A protocol and a working programme for development of the techno-scientific cooperation between Bulgaria and India for the 1986-1990 period were signed. They envisaged that the cooperation should include spheres of mutual interest.

[Text] [Sofia BTA in English 2008 GMT 2 Dec 85 AU] /7358

CSO: 2200/50

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DISTRICT COMMITTEE MEMBER EXPELLED FROM CPCZ

AU140841 [Editorial Report] Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 45 of 6 November on page 7 carries a 1,700-word "NK"-signed article entitled "Protecting Values." The article deals with two cases of high-ranking managers who were recently sentenced by Czechoslovak courts for economic crimes.

The first case described in the article involves "Josef S.," former director of the Pertolice united agricultural cooperative and member of the Kutna Hora CPCZ District Committee. The TRIBUNA article says that, making illicit use of his rank, Josef S. purchased Kcs49,758 worth of industrial merchandise and Kcs8,212 worth of construction material for private consumption and charged it to the cooperative. In addition, he also used the cooperative's funds to purchase tours worth Kcs9,680 for two nonmembers of the farm and had the cooperative build the rough framework of a weekend house for a lawyer from a nearby village, without ever invoicing the amount of work performed and the material used to build the house. According to the TRIBUNA article, Josef S. also made himself guilty by giving away potatoes and other produce belonging to the cooperative and by using the cooperative as a front to purchase for himself articles (such as a welding set and two power saws), which private customers otherwise are not entitled to buy.

The Central Bohemian Regional Court reportedly found Josef S. guilty of "pilferage of property under socialist ownership," the "abuse of the powers of a public official," and other related charges and sentenced him to "8 years of deprivation of freedom in the first correctional group." The whole case was closed when the "Presidium of the CPCZ District Committee recommended and the plenary session of the CPCZ District Committee approved the expulsion of Josef S. from the ranks of the CPCZ members."

Winding up the story, the TRIBUNA article says: "After years of active and, no doubt, also good work, Josef S. failed. The party has expelled him from its ranks because he blatantly harmed communist honor and the party's interest and authority. Everyone in the district must not draw a lesson from the case. People who have failed, people who place their personal interests above the interests of society, must depart from their functions in due time."

The second case described in the TRIBUNA article involves "Lubomir P., deputy director of the Research Institute for Antifriction Bearings in Orno, Engineer Vaclav S., former director of that institute, and two other citizens"--Ladislav

K., had their expenses in the Slovan hotel invoiced as fees for the lease of the hotel's facilities to their organization. This permitted "unlawful machinations with financial funds," which over the years reportedly resulted in "damage of at least Kcs93,552 to property under socialist ownership." The Brno City Court sentenced Lubomir P. to "30 months of deprivation of freedom in the first correctional group" plus a 3-year [word indistinct] on performing any job involving economic responsibility. The other three defendants all received suspended sentences of 18 months for a 4-year probationary period. In addition, all defendants must compensate for the financial damage.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ALL-DAY CARE FOR GYPSY CHILDREN RECOMMENDED

AU140911 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 12 November on page 5 carries a 1,400-word article by Engineer Imrich Farkas, secretary of the Commission of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR] for Problems of the Gypsy Population, entitled "Education Provides the Guarantee for Success." The article deals with the need for "all-day care" for Gypsy children in order to "bring them up" to the level of other Slovak children.

Farkas opens the article by saying that slightly more than 92,000 Gypsy children live in Slovakia at present, 52,800 of whom are of school age and about 20,000 in the 3 to 5 age bracket. Of the Gypsy children between the ages of 3 and 5, he says, only 67 percent attend all-day kindergarten, compared with 88 percent for the Slovak population of this age group at large. As a result, "it is not always possible to ensure the proper preparation of Gypsy children for entry into elementary school."

Speaking about kindergarten attendance of Gypsy children, Farkas also says: "A serious obstacle to the enrollment of Gypsy children in kindergartens with all-day care is, at some places, the negative attitude of the rest of the population toward Gypsies. This attitude results in incorrect views about society's care for the education of the Gypsy population and, above all, Gypsy children on the basis of certain financial benefits (the financing of the cost of their board by national committees) or other prerogatives (the acceptance of Gypsy children in kindergarten even when their mothers are not employed). That is why it will be necessary that national committees explain to these people, including kindergarten directors, that from the economic viewpoint it is substantially more advantageous to cover the cost of meals of Gypsy children in kindergarten as well as in elementary and special schools--even in those cases when their parents are not socially needy--and thereby ensure their purposeful education and upbringing, than to solve their social problems, at a far greater financial cost, only after they grow up and have culturally and socially backward families with many children."

Moving on to the school attendance of Gypsy children, Farkas says that almost 80 percent of Gypsy children of the relevant age group attend elementary schools, with the remaining more than 20 percent attending special schools. Although the truancy of Gypsy children declined from an average of 101.5 missed hours per pupil in the 1975-76 school year to 84.2 hours in 1983-84, he says, it still exceeds the truancy rate of Slovak schoolchildren at large,

which is between 41 and 43 hours. The school performance of Gypsy children is also substantially worse than the school performance of Slovak children at large, according to Farkas. Whereas an average of between 97 and 98 percent of all pupils of Slovak elementary schools "pass" and can enter the next grade, the "pass rate" for Gypsy pupils of elementary schools in the 1983-84 school year was only 83.6 percent. These figures show, according to Farkas, "how much more effort society will have to exert for the standard of Gypsy children in the acquisition of basic education to match the standard of other children."

Speaking about ways of improving the school results of Gypsy children, Farkas advocates the promotion of their involvement in extracurricular activities in school club and school day-care centers, as well as their participation in school catering. "Findings acquired in many schools and districts show," he says, that the school performance of Gypsy children who take their meals in school cafeterias and participate in extracurricular activities "is substantially better than the performance of those who are outside this influence," In addition, such "all-day care of the school for Gypsy children" is also "of immense importance in the struggle against crime committed by Gypsy juveniles." According to Farkas, "Gypsy children who do not frequent school day-care centers or clubs not only do not study at home to be prepared for the next school day, but also cause all kinds of havoc under the guidance of older boys. Gradually, they get under the influence of criminals who, taking advantage of their not being criminally liable, directly prod them to commit punishable offenses."

In concluding, Farkas calls on national committees and school agencies to "approach far more energetically" the provision of "all-day care for Gypsy children within the framework of their preschool and school education." According to the author, this is the only way of fulfilling the resolution of the SSR Government that, by 1990, Gypsy children "catch up with general standards in preschool education" and "in school education, come close to other pupils, in terms of both school attendance and school performance."

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HUSAK RECEIVES WIDF DELEGATION

LD022256 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 2 Dec 85

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, received at Prague Castle today, on the occasion of the session of the Council of the Women's International Democratic Federation [WIDF], a delegation of the international organization led by its chairman, Freda Brown. Members of the delegation informed him about the proceedings and results of the session of the council which was held in Prague and which outlined the main future directions of activities of the federation in the struggle for peace, for the prevention of nuclear war, for disarmament and for the women's rights.

Freda Brown thanked the Czechoslovak hosts for the attention and care, for the creation of very good conditions for the deliberations.

Gustav Husak praised highly the 40-year long fruitful work of the WIDF and the pruposeful character of its effort for the solution of questions linked with the position, and the better and happier life of women and children on our planet. He underlined the important contribution of this large international organization, which unites 135 progressive women's organizations from 117 countries of all continents, to the struggle of progressive forces of the world for the preservation and strengthening of peace, for democracy and social progress.

He also underlined the importance of the recent Soviet-U.S. summit in Geneva and stressed that Czechoslovakia would support every initiative which would contribute positively to the implementation of all the positive ideas of the Geneva talks and would continue to make every possible effort in the struggle for the prevention of the danger of nuclear disaster, for the halting of arms race on the earth and the prevention of its spreading to the outer space, for a turn for the better in international relations.

Finally, Comrade Gustav Husak expressed the solidarity of Czechoslovak people with representatives of the progressive women's movement in their struggle for the noble ideas of the peaceful future of the mankind and wished them much success in the preparation of the Ninth Congress of the WIDF and the Women's World Congress.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INTERVIEW WITH LEBANESE CP OFFICIAL

AU291208 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Nov 85 p 6

[Interview given by Karim Mroue, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Communist Party of Lebanon, to RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Milan Madr during Mroue's "recent stay in the [word indistinct]," "How To Resolve the Crisis"; first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] We availed ourselves of the opportunity of the recent stay of Karim Mroue, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Communist Party of Lebanon, in the CSSR and asked him for an interview on the current problems and prospects of Lebanon, a country that is experiencing the 11th year of an acute, frequently stormy situation, and the southern part of which continues to be occupied by Israeli units.

[Madr] In connection with the negotiations conducted by three major Lebanese political forces in Damascus, there has been talk about the possibility of a turn for the better, though such turn may be difficult to bring about.

[Mroue] You are referring to the negotiations under Syrian auspices that ended last month with an important agreement.

[Madr] What is the contents of this agreement?

[Mroue] It consists of two parts. The first part defines the nature of the reforms that are necessary for the system of a democratic, parliamentary republic to be set up in Lebanon. This is a reform that we have stipulated as fundamental in the present stage. The second part concerns the period of transition that should follow up on the present situation.

[Madr] What are the principles of the first part of the document?

[Mroue] Above all, it provides for the abolition of denominationalism (the religion-based formula for distributing political appointments). In Lebanon, it will be necessary to reform existing institutions so as to abolish the prerogatives of the president of the republic. Executive power will be concentrated in the hands of the government, which will be elected by the parliament. Power (that is, presidential power) that is outside any control will thus cease

to exist. The presidential post will become a nominal function as in Greece or Italy. The change in this respect is extraordinarily important.

In addition, a number of reforms will be carried out on the political, economic, and social planes. On the political plane, it is essential to confirm Lebanon's affiliation [sounalezitost] with the Arab world and this country's special relations with Syria in all fields.

[Madr] What is envisaged for the period of transition?

[Mroue] The second part of the agreement concerns the period of transition. In this stage, the denominational system will remain in force. The parliament will be divided, with one half of the seats belonging to Muslims and the other half belonging to Christians (at present Christians hold 53 of the 99 parliamentary seats and Muslims 45). The number of deputies will double. Deputies will be appointed. This will be done in a way ensuring that they represent the real political spectrum of the Lebanese society. The presidential powers will be transferred to a narrow and representative council of ministers. The period of transition should last 5 years at the most. The committee that has been entrusted with drafting a new constitution should have completed its work by then. Armed units belonging to individual political formations will be abolished. According to the agreement, some Syrian units will be in Lebanon in the period of transition, which will also train the new Lebanese Army. In the economy, regulatory elements [regulacni prvky] will be applied, and in the social sphere, laws will be adopted benefiting the working people.

[Madr] What are the implications of the agreement? And what sort of preceding development is it based on?

[Mroue] It is a confirmation of that which the Communist Party of Lebanon proclaims, namely that the present stage of development in Lebanon, aimed at overcoming the civil war, is a stage of democratic, patriotic changes. In defining the characteristic features of the present stage, we proceed from the successes of the patriotic and democratic forces.

[Madr] What successes are these?

[Mroue] To be concise, they are: the liberation of the main part of the territory occupied by Israeli troops; the expulsion of U.S. Marines and the troops of other NATO states from Lebanon; the annulment of the separate agreement with Israel of 17 May 1983; and also the dealing of a crushing blow to the designs of the Phalange and its power bodies.

[Madr] However, difficulties have now cropped up concerning the signing of the agreement....

[Mroue] The agreement signifies such a shift in a new direction that we ourselves assumed that initially it would be difficult to push through its signing and implementation. Important political representatives continue to be captives of sectarian [konfesionalni] and conservative notions.

[Madr] Are these the only reasons preventing the signing of the agreement?

[Mroue] Certainly not. In this connection it is impossible to ignore the destructive role of Israel and the United States, although the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the greater part of Lebanon, which Israel was forced to effect, undeniably means a decline of its political influence in our country.

[Madr] How do you assess the chances in the near future?

[Mroue] This will be a very difficult period. The struggle between those who fight for the implementation of the agreement and those who would like to thwart it will become even sharper. The front of the advocates of the agreement is strong. It is strong especially because it expresses the longing of the people of Lebanon that an end be put to the existing situation. Syria sides with this front and also supports the agreement. The camp of Christian forces, on the other hand, despite being opposed to the agreement, is internally split and does not have the strength to become united. It is also necessary to realize that following the liberation of Tripoli from the forces of obscurantism, these currents have been weakened. However, the struggle to implement the agreement will go on in various shapes. We believe that the balance of forces is not to the benefit of those who would like to kill the agreement.

[Madr] What immediate tasks do you see in this connection?

[Mroue] These tasks now include broadening political and military efforts in order to definitively expel the Israeli occupiers from Lebanon and carrying out political cleansing and reorganization--including from the security viewpoint--in various areas controlled by patriotic forces.

[Madr] What is your opinion of the growing Israeli and U.S. pressure on Jordan aimed at making it sign a separate peace agreement with Israel?

[Mroue] In my opinion, neither regional nor international conditions permit King Husayn to conclude such an agreement with Israel. On the other hand, we regard as positive his recent rapprochement with Syria and his statement against any sort of a separate peace.

[Madr] Thank you for the answers.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE SESSION CONCLUDES

AU181207 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Nov 85 p 2

[CTK report: "Attention to Peace Year"]

[Text] Piestany--the 4-day session of the International Secretariat of the Christian Peace Conference (KMK)--its main task was to discuss the activity of this organization after the sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly held in July 1985 in Prague--concluded on Thursday [14 November] in Piestany. The members of the International Secretariat, who come from 18 countries from all over the world, agreed that in the coming period the main attention will be directed at the recently opened international peace year and at mobilizing the Christians and churches throughout the world to actively contribute to its successful course and good results.

In connection with the appraisal of the KMK's topical tasks in the present international situation, one stressed the need to resolutely reject the U.S. administration's plan for the so-called SDI, the realization of which would not only mean the beginning of a new round of armament and a further destabilization of interstate relations, but would also have catastrophic consequences for the overall economic situation of the peoples and would lead the world yet closer to the threshold of a nuclear catastrophe.

The members of the International Secretariat welcomed the approaching meeting of the top USSR and U.S. representatives in Geneva and expressed the hope that the results of this meeting will be a contribution to positive changes in the international atmosphere, will establish prerequisites for practical measures to halt the armament race, and will correspond to the longing of all peoples to live in peace.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ'S STEFANAK VIEWS NEW CPSU PROGRAM

AU141556 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Nov 85 p 6

[Article by Michal Stefanak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee and head of the CPCZ Central Committee International Affairs Department: "The Leninist concept of peace; on the draft of a new edition of the CPSU Program"]

[Text] The years that have passed since the Great October Socialist Revolution have produced new evidence of its power to inspire social development. Additional peoples and countries are entering the process of building a new, socially equitable socialist society. A new international socialist community has taken shape, which constitutes the main political and material foundation of the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. The draft of a new edition of the CPSU program represents a concentrated expression of the unity of the domestic, building, and foreign policy of the CPSU and the soviet state aimed at a comprehensive development of the advanced socialist society and at strengthening peace in the world.

It is therefore not surprising that this programmatic document has become the most-studied and most-discussed document of the present world. In Czechoslovakia, too, this is no different. This is the case, above all, because the document contains an integrated exposition of the soviet concept of peace, social progress, and national liberation. It formulates the basic, unchanging principles of the CPSU's policy of peace in the world arena. The draft of the program's new edition shows the breadth of the CPSU's approach to international events, its ability to objectively evaluate in due course developments in the world and individual regions, as well as its ability to flexibly respond to the requirements of the monument and the times. The CPSU consistently implements and with specific deeds living up to the mapped-out line of communist construction and strengthening world peace. Revolutionary, democratic, and peace-loving forces of the world and the peoples of the socialist countries, in particular, take pride in the enormous prestige and authority enjoyed by the land of the Soviets in the international arena.

Everyone is able to see that in the present tense international situation brought about by the most aggressive circles of the United States and NATO, the CPSU and the Soviet Government are doing everything they can to safeguard peace, eliminate the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, and establish conditions for peaceful building work for the benefit of man.

Revolutionary and progressive forces note with recognition, and anti-socialist and anti-peace forces with wrath, that the foreign policy line of the CPSU and the Soviet state is not subject to opportunistic [ionjunkturalni] ups-and-downs. It is principled and constructive policy, a consistently peaceful policy. Its main principles were worked out by V.I. Lenin in the famous historic "Decree on peace." Some 68 years have passed since then and the world is becoming ever more profoundly convinced that socialism equals peace. This follows from the gist of the socialist system. As the draft of the new edition of the CPSU program stresses, the main content of socialist foreign policy is to eliminate wars from the life of society and to ensure lasting peace on the planet and in space.

Socialism is not developing in isolation from other problems of the contemporary world. [Sentence as published] On the contrary, its development takes place in a sharp class struggle between the forces on socialism, progress, and peace on the one hand and the forces of aggression on the other. That is why the Soviet Union must pay constant attention to the defense of the socialist country and the whole socialist community and to the defense of peace throughout our planet. Along with this, it is striving to establish conditions in the world that would allow individual peoples to freely choose the manner of their future development, free of foreign interference in their affairs.

The foreign policy of peace worked out by the CPSU and consistently implemented by the Soviet state has, in combination with the reinforcement of the Soviet Union's defense capability, ensured for the Soviet people, the peoples of the socialist community, the peoples of the most inhabitants of the rest of our planet more than 40 years of peace. Mankind greatly appreciates the fact that the Soviet Union persistently continues this peaceful, revolutionary effort. "The CPSU will also in the future do everything within its power to preserve conditions of peace for the building work of the Soviet people, to improve international relations, to terminate the arms race that has flooded the world, and to avert the danger of nuclear war threatening nations," says the draft of a new edition of the CPSU program.

The coexistence of states with different social systems also establishes the most suitable conditions for the peaceful contest between the two systems. Soviet foreign policy has always proceeded from the realization that the historic conflict with capitalism cannot be resolved by way of a military confrontation and forcible imposition on others of one's own world view or social system. "Socialism does not demonstrate its merits by the force of weapons," the draft of the document states, "but by the force of its example in all areas of social life--by dynamically developing the economy, science, and culture, raising the standards of working people, and deepening socialist democracy." We realize that the greater the successes of socialism in the economic, political, and social spheres, the firmer will also become the positions of individual countries and the entire socialist world, the positions of revolutionary, democratic, and peace-loving forces. At the same time, these successes will enhance the attractiveness of the new socialist world, convincingly demonstrating on which side historical truth lies and the greater the role and the influence of socialism on the planet, the better will also the prospects of the cause of eliminating wars be. Such is the basic law governing social development, a law that has been conclusively confirmed by the course of history.

Today, peace is an unconditional prerequisite of the preservation of civilizations such and of mankind's advancement toward the peaks of social progress. The only way of ensuring lasting peace on our planet is shown by the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. The draft of the new edition of the CPSU program points to the essence and concrete manifestations of this policy. It says that this policy presupposes the renunciation of war and the use of force or threat to use force as a means of settling disputed issues and the settling of disputes by way of negotiations; the noninterference in internal affairs and mutual respect for legitimate interests; the right of peoples to independently decide about their own fate; the strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and for the inviolability of their borders, cooperation on the basis of absolute equality and mutual advantage; and the conscientious fulfillment of commitments arising from generally recognized principles and norms of international life and from concluded international treaties. It is only on these foundations that it is possible under current conditions to build the road toward ensuring lasting peace on earth and beyond.

In the interest of the attainment of these goals, the CPSU, together with other fraternal parties, regards it as its internationalist duty to strengthen the unity and to enhance the strength and influence of the socialist community.

"The course of the contest between socialism and capitalism and the future of world visualization depend to an enormous degree on the firmness of the socialist community, on the successes of each country's building activity, and on the purposefulness and coordination of their actions," the draft of the document states. The units of the socialist countries is an important factor accelerating social progress.

Under the complex conditions of the present, the comprehensive reinforcement of the unity and cohesion of the fraternal countries on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism is also the main direction of the foreign political activity of the CPCZ and our socialist state. We agree with the Soviet comrades in that it is necessary to continue to strengthen our co-operation, to improve political coordination within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, which must be a reliable defense shield of the socialist community, and to deepen socialist economic and scientific integration, an important prerequisite for raising the economic potential of world socialism.

The draft document again shows what aims are pursued by certain circles in the West when they "reproach" our countries for firmly following a common line in international affairs, for not acting "independently," or, in other words, in disunity. This is not to the liking of our ideological adversaries. It is, after all, precisely the united course of action that multiplies the strength and increases the effectiveness of social foreign policy, which is aimed at achieving the noble goals of the struggle for peace and easing international tension. The conclusion outlined in the text of the draft is well-founded that the most important factors determining the successful advance of world socialism are loyalty of the ruling communist and workers parties to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, its creative application, the parties' firm cohesion with the broad masses of the working people, the strengthening of their authority and leading role in society, the strict observance of the Leninist norms of the life of the party and the state and the development of socialist rule by the

people, the sober evaluation of the existing situation and the timely and scientifically-founded solution of arising problems, and the building of ties with other fraternal parties in the spirit of the principles of socialist internationalism.

Today, even shrewd conjectures no longer help the apologists of the old world to conceal before the world public the fact that it is the USSR and the countries of the Warsaw Pact, and not the United States and the states of NATO, that are the initiators of a large number of peace proposals aimed at detente, terminating the arms race, and developing mutually advantageous cooperation among individual states.

In implementing its foreign policy line, the CPSU appraises with understanding peace-loving initiatives of other states and considers in its proposals constructive ideas of antiwar movements, various social organizations, and individual state and political officials. This enhances the effectiveness of socialist foreign policy and furnishes evidence of its profoundly democratic nature, of the nature of the system that has established genuine rule by the people. At the same time, this corresponds to the vital interests of the majority of mankind. In its draft program, the CPSU expresses the conviction that, even though the danger threatening mankind is extraordinarily great, great also is the realistic possibility to maintain and strengthen peace. This is because of the enormous peace potential represented by the alliance of socialist countries, the international workers and communist movement, dozens of young independent states, and the large democratic antiwar movement. Their joint course of action can decisively determine the general direction of world developments in our era. "Peoples can and must eliminate the threat of nuclear war by concerted effort."

The draft of the CPSU program's new edition provides a profound analysis of the causes of the present exacerbated international situation. It shows that this situation is a result of the depending crisis of the world capitalist system, of the attempts of imperialist circles to regain lost positions, slow down social progress, and take social revenge. "Standing against the young world of socialism, which is oriented toward the future, is the still-strong and dangerous exploitative world of capitalism, which reached its prime in the past. The general crisis of capital is deepening. The sphere of its rule is being irretrievably narrowed, and the fact that historically it is doomed to extinction is becoming increasingly evident." This is a conclusion that is based on the scientific understanding of the main directions of current developments. The text of the draft states that "the more historical development undermines the positions of the imperialism, the more inimical the policy of its most reactionary forces become to people's interests."

The incumbent U.S. administration and the most reactionary forces of the North American society which bank it are trying to lead world capitalism out of the blind alley and implement their hegemonic plans. They practice a policy of diktat based on military means. Washington's foreign policy line is a destructive factor in international relations. The aggressive designs of the North American ruling elite are manifested in their tenacious efforts to liquidate the existing military-strategic priority between the USSR and the United States

and between the countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, in their unbridled escalation of the arms race and in its transfer to outer space.

The Soviet Union has never threatened anyone and does not seek unilateral advantages and military supremacy. The [word indistinct] session of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states stressed that the Soviet Union and our community will not allow any other party or coalition of states to achieve such supremacy either. Even in its new programmatic document, the CPSU enshrines the gist of its policy: It wants the arms race to be stopped, and not to be continued, and therefore proposes a broad range of initiatives, an entire extensive program of peace, the main content of which is the effort to halt the further development of nuclear, conventional, chemical, and other weapons; it wants a genuine and extensive reduction of the amassed weapons and not the development of ever newer systems of weapons, be it on earth or in space.

The CPSU's approach to the questions of war and peace as contained in the draft of the new edition of its program and its continuous efforts in this respect are winning ever new sympathies and support in the world. The peoples of the world understand the CPSU raises in the international arena problems that affect their fundamental interests.

The draft of the new documents bears out the profound internationalism and class-orientation of the CPSU's policy. It is imbued with the spirit of solidarity with revolutionary and progressive forces all over the world. The CPSU and the Soviet state side with those who even today must wage a struggle for their freedom and independence, for the very existence of their people, with those who must ward off the pressure of aggressive imperialist forces or the threat of counterrevolutionary coups instigated from the outside. The CPSU shows its sincere interest in the normalization of the situation in all corners of the world, it insistently fights for the liquidation of explosive conflicts. It works consistently for the process of the escalation of tension to be stopped, for the spirit of security and cooperation to prevail in Europe, for Asia to become a continent of peace and understanding, for the peoples of Central America to have the chance to determine their fate independently, without outside interference, for the disgraceful regime of apartheid to be liquidated in the Republic of South Africa, and for the repulsive regime of fascism, neofascism, Zionism, and other reactionary dictatorships to disappear once and for all from the planet.

An extraordinary place is reserved in the draft of the new edition of the CPSU Program to the elaboration of the fundamental questions of foreign policy and international relations. In a creative way it explains issues of such importance as the class nature of foreign policy, the social and class functions of socialist foreign policy under the specific historical conditions of the present stage of mutual struggle between the two systems, or the effectiveness of socialist foreign policy in dealing with tasks raised by the present development and the continuously changing situation in the world.

In connection with the clearly formulated line of the CPSU aimed at elevating Soviet society to a qualitatively higher level through an accelerated develop-

ment of science and technology, the draft document also assesses in a new way questions concerning the mutual connections and interdependence of domestic and foreign policy. The Leninist precept about their close and inseparable connection is being filled with new content, which reflects the characteristic specific features of the present stage of social development.

From the draft of the program that is to be approved by the 27th CPSU Congress and the final touches to which are now being given by communists and all Soviet working people, with their creative efforts, clearly emanates the enormous revolutionary role played by Soviet foreign policy in the system of international relations. It guides revolutionary and democratic forces toward the solution of the most important international problems in a spirit corresponding to the needs of social progress, the class interests of the working people, and the aspirations of the majority of mankind.

In our era, in which--to use V.I. Lenin's words--"history is shaped independently by millions and tens of millions of people," the CPSU Program will have enormous impact on basic processes of the world development. From this follows also our duty to assimilate as profoundly and as thoroughly as possible the programmatic document of the CPSU--our closest fellow fighter for the cause of peace, socialism, and communism, for the ideals of all mankind.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPSL OFFICIAL ON PARAMILITARY EDUCATION

AU201700 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Nov 85 p 4

[Interview given by Stefan Burcin, staff member of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL) Central Committee, to Peter Onera, Bratislava PRAVDA editor in the domestic policy section: "The Place and Mission of Paramilitary Education; the Main Aim Is To Consolidate the Defensive Capability of the Fatherland"; date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpts] The processes of the population's paramilitary education and of creating the right attitude toward the fatherland's defense are both a part of the decisive tasks of our society. Peter Ondera, editor in PRAVDA's domestic policy section, discussed the current situation in realizing the CPCZ's goals in paramilitary policy and the basic problems of realizing the Uniform System of the population's Paramilitary Education with Stefan Burcin, staff member of the CPSL Central Committee.

"It can be said that we have noted a qualitative shift in our citizens' minds since the 14th CPCZ Congress and CPSL Congress, a shift in their understanding of the Leninist principle of the unity of building and defending the socialist fatherland. The responsibility of agencies and organizations for the level of enhancement of the citizens' paramilitary awareness and their defense preparation has increased; the influence of party agencies and organizations in the Slovak SR on the process of realizing, and checking on, the fulfillment of resolutions on the population's paramilitary education has deepened," Comrade Burcin said at the beginning of our talk.

[Ondera] What has influenced most the development of our citizens' paramilitary awareness in the recent period?

[Burcin] Undoubtedly it was, first and foremost, the change of the international situation, its exacerbation. The endeavor undertaken by the imperialist circles to achieve a direct military confrontation is logically also reflected in the minds of our citizens--in their greater responsibility for the defense of our socialist fatherland and in their realization that the chance that a potential adversary could realize his aggressive plans decreases with the growth of our economic potential and with the consolidation of our fatherland's defense.

[Ondera] Which criteria can be considered decisive in appraising the standards of paramilitary awareness?

[Burcin] Undoubtedly, the decisive index in all spheres of paramilitary education must be its efficiency; that means the specific results of paramilitary educational influence. We must always assess the extent to which we are succeeding in fulfilling the basic demands set on enhancing our fatherland's defensive capability and on consolidating our Czechoslovak People's Army. This is no simple thing; paramilitary education is part of the entire system of socialist upbringing and a large number of factors operate in it. A certain role is played by the family, the school, the social organizations of the National Front, agencies of the state administration, mass information and propaganda media, and by other factors; but even Western ideology, which is pushing its way into our country by means of every form of ideological subversion, cannot but exert its influence, too.

[Ondera] One could surely cite many examples of the increasing share of paramilitary education in the entire process of socialist education and upbringing. But the results of certain sociological research projects are alarming....

[Burcin] True, we have among us citizens who entertain wrong views on service in the Czechoslovak People's Army and on the army's mission in our society. We also know that the behavior of many of our citizens toward the members of the Czechoslovak People's Army is not always in keeping with the behavior and morality of a citizen of the socialist fatherland. We have also encountered opinions which testify to a failure to grasp the current international situation in the world--stances ranging from lightheartedness to pessimism. Some of the research respondents, for instance, do not differentiate between just and unjust wars, they adopt pacifist positions and prefer any sort of peace, peace at any price, to a fight for national and social freedom; and so forth.

[Ondera] Obviously, such knowledge should also be the basis from which the orientation and contents of paramilitary propaganda proceed....

[Burcin] We must definitely not succumb to self-complacency. We should find a source of inspiration for our further course in the positive experience recently achieved by us in paramilitary education. It is scarcely possible to cite all of it; however, we value the work of ministerial commissions of the Uniform System of the Population's Paramilitary Education and of Commissions of the Uniform System of the Population's Paramilitary Education and of commissions attached to the Regional National Committee and National Committee of Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak SR. Compared with the past, they have succeeded in linking paramilitary upbringing more tightly with the specific needs of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

[Ondera] The summary evaluations of the party show that the current activity of individual social organizations of the National Front has a positive effect. But obviously there are also weak places....

[Burcin] Our social organizations have not yet exhausted their possibilities in the least. I will merely mention a few examples: The Socialist Youth

Union (SZM) organizes many actions with a mass participation; still, a part of the young people continue to remain outside the union's influence. There is room for improvement particularly in the SZM's cooperation with other social organizations. Another example is the Slovak Women's Union (SZZ): Its members are enhancing their efforts in developing paramilitary-patriotic, international, and emotional [as published] education, they are active in the process of training conscripts, they are developing contacts between mothers and sons who are soldiers doing their basic service; and the SZZ agencies publish many publications on paramilitary topics. Still, in many instances we must call the family a negative factor, such as when parents influence their sons' decisions on whether to enroll in a military school. The Czechoslovak Union of Physical Education should further increase its share in the physical training of conscripts, because it is generally known that the physical fitness of new conscripts has been stagnating and that we continue to have a large number of nonswimmers among them. Likewise, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH) also participates in paramilitary education, leading its young members to adopt a conscious attitude to paramilitary duties supporting the reservists' active work in the conscripts' training centers. On the other hand, in many, even in economically strong, enterprises the ROH is not exerting adequate pressure to achieve the construction of paramilitary-sports facilities; or it is not always capable of resolving problems with the enterprise staff's participation in the training of conscripts, although legal stipulations furnish the ROH with the necessary prerequisites for this. In brief, although paramilitary education has a precisely defined social mission and place, its level and efficiency depend in many respects on specific managerial, organizational, and educational work.

[Ondera] The real causes of shortcomings in the sphere of paramilitary education were sometimes uncovered only with difficulty--perhaps also because it is understood summarily, as an intersectoral phenomenon. And it has become a bad habit of the agencies, ministerial departments, and social organizations mutually to shift responsibility to others, so that we often have a kind of vicious circle....

[Burcin] If we analyze problems, we often find that tasks are not being fulfilled because of an unbalanced attitude to needs and that purely subjective causes are in operation--most often these issues are neglected by the management of the agency or organization on the appropriate level. I will mention an example. A few years ago, the results of paramilitary education in the ministerial branch of agriculture and food did not correspond to our needs. The comrades analyzed the reasons, devoted attention to the problems, and the result did not fail to appear--today this branch is one of the best in the sphere of paramilitary education.

[Ondera] Recently we have had polemics about the school's mission in the system of paramilitary education, particularly in connection with discontinuing paramilitary education as a separate school subject in elementary schools in the year 1983....

[Burcin] In their activities our socialist schools are on the whole successfully fulfilling the party resolution on the Uniform System of the Population's

Paramilitary Education. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium has appraised the operation of the school system along these lines. It is self-evident that the knowledge gained here again varies. A lot depends, above all, on the collective of teachers and on the conditions created by the school for paramilitary education. The high degree of feminization in our teachers' staff is also not without a certain influence. As regards the cancellation of paramilitary education as a separate school subject, and its incorporation into seven other school subjects and in out-of-school hobby activities--at present it is relatively difficult to evaluate the positive results of these changes. Opinions differ here, but one thing is certain: we will inevitably have to intensify the efficiency of our work here, to be more purposeful in organizing out-of-school hobby activities, to enhance the teachers' qualifications for a comprehensive understanding of paramilitary education, and to establish greater scope in schools for the activities of the Union for Cooperation with the Army (SVAZARM).

[Ondera] We regard SVAZARM as a key organization working in paramilitary education. Its activity, its multilateral forms and scope, deserve appreciation. However, what further tasks is this paramilitary organization to expect in the current situation?

[Burcin] It can be said that SVAZARM enjoys a natural and informal authority among our citizens. However, we still have basic organizations and clubs which lead a most one-sided life and fail to respect in their activity the society-wide mission of this organization; they devote insufficient attention to work with youth. We encounter there a campaignlike political-educational work; and, for instance, the clubs of ensigns and reserve officers are active in scarcely 5 percent of all basic organizations. Here, too, we have a lot to do.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'REEXAMINATION' OF CONCEPTS URGED

AU180852 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Nov 85 p 3

[Karel Rychtarik article: ("The Principle of Purity: On the Leninist Type of Working, Thinking, and Acting")]

[Excerpts] Life continues by virtue of permanent movement. When a cardiograph stops registering its curves, it means irreversibly the cessation of heartbeats. Dialectics stands for the multidimensionality and inexhaustibility of the movement of nature, society, and thought. Dialectics has always been, is, and will be an instrument of revolutionary changes in society involves the halo of what would like to present itself as being eternal, definite, and "insur-passable," as being something absolute and given once and for all. Perceived dialectically, social development is a process involving internal contradiction and qualitative changes. In people's activity contradictions arise, develop, are resolved, and arise again and again.

An integral part of the currents of social processes today is our struggle for the minds, and in the minds, of the people. Social awareness is an active factor for social movement, a factor that cannot be replaced by anything else. It co-determines the success and the failure of transformations in our society, and the rate and effectiveness of these transformations. It is an inseparable part of the complex and extensive process which Soviet comrades above all today call the "rebuilding of social awareness."

It is precisely in this connection that the need is often stressed to overcome that which is given and to seek and assimilate new approaches. This need applies to every one of us--from the worker up to the government representative and the secretary of the party Central Committee. It is true also of the sphere of awareness that in the positive understanding and perception of that which exists materialist dialectics also incorporates its negation, that is the necessity of the extinction of the existing reality. Materialistic dialectics is in its essence critical and revolutionary.

The critical and revolutionary idea has always been an integral part of the Leninist mode of thinking and doing things. It is an expression of the world outlook of those who have never lost the sense of class connections and personal responsibility for that which was, is, and that which should be done.

The intensive dialogue which Soviet comrades are conducting today as part of their preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress also could not evade questions that are raised precisely by the dialectics of development. On the one hand, the building of socialism has registered gigantic, truly historic successes. On the other hand, it is impossible not to see a number of unresolved tasks that in principle could have been resolved earlier, as well as quite a number of outdated views and habits. Today these outdated views and habits take, above all, the form of the notion that necessary, profound, and by their nature revolutionary changes can be brought about by way of cautious, slow, and tiny improvements.

Addressing this issue, the journal IKOMMUNIST writes in its editorial this June: "What is needed is a leap, it is necessary to interrupt gradual development. Otherwise the danger could become quite real of a slower rate in the growth of living standards and of a curtailment of the program of increasing material prosperity..., focusing on tiny improvements would be equivalent to falling hopelessly behind in the historic competition between the two antagonistic social systems."

To understand and accept these approaches means to understand and accept also the reality from which they proceed--namely, that socialism is, inevitably, a society of contradictions. This reality has its quite concrete repercussions and concrete contents. [Words indistinct] merit but it also has its quite concrete shortcomings, shortcomings that derive from at least two sets of causes:

The first set of causes is necessarily objective: If the socialist society is an immature society, we must then accept that this entails an "immature social situation" and an "immature state of awareness." Therefore, we must inevitably also characterize some existing theoretical concepts as "immature." The contradictory nature of socialism must not be perceived as some kind of abnormality, as something of a short-term and temporary nature that was brought about solely and exclusively by our mistakes or by the ideo-subversive influence of the adversary.

The second set of causes is subjective. A considerable number of the shortcomings in our social life are caused by our mistakes and errors, by the inability to adopt and assert a system of management that would provide incentives for all groups of the population to work honestly and with dedication, and that would lead to scientific-technical progress. We pay a heavy price for the various manifestations of formalism and voluntarism of the past years. Scope for voluntarism is created wherever the new situation and the dynamism and real possibilities of our movement are not fathomed, in all places where we did not live up to the objective needs of the party's cognitive function.

The frankness and concreteness with which Soviet materials, especially those published in the last few months, point to these facts is only seemingly unusual. The foremost feature of the Leninist style of work has always been the requirement to assess changes in objective conditions, to see the situation as it is, and not as we would prefer it to be.

That is also why Mikhail Gorbachev draws attention to the fact that we must far more realistically assess the level of economic maturity and analyze the consequences of formalism and bureaucratism in party work. Herein lies one of the causes of the fact that "...changes in the objective conditions of the development of production, the necessity to accelerate its intensification, and changes in the methods of running the economy were not assessed adequately and in due course, and, something which is particularly important, that there was a lack of perseverance in preparing and implementing extensive measures in the economic area."

The demand to have a firm foothold in facts and not to confuse the knowledge of the laws and the true course of social development with emotions and willful notions is coupled here with a realistic, sober, and creative approach to work and with irreconcilability toward shortcomings.

It is a Leninist spirit and style of work that has been established here with such vigor and ardent appeal, with such openness, that it has gained, and is gaining, an enormous social foothold and support in all groups of the population, not only in the Soviet, but also in our society. The party of Soviet communists is talking openly with the people, exposing past mistakes and shortcomings and firmly and uncompromisingly formulating the demand for new forms and methods of work. This is not a program of political inertia, it is a program of political honesty.

The unusual--and let us be frank in saying that it is unusual--critical and self-critical approach, precision and matter-of-factness, and sobriety and realism in assessing things are meeting an unusual response. No one doubts that it is the Leninist style of work that is gaining ground here, that it is not a question of casting doubts on principles and tenets whose worth had been repeatedly tested by the communist movement. That is why the requirement is so often being voiced today to raise demands on, and the responsibility of, party members and to evaluate communists not according to their words and declarations but according to their deeds and work. There are not, and cannot be, any other yardsticks.

If we reject metaphysical musing connected with the voluntarism of unrealistic wishes and if we consider the fact that the building of socialism is necessarily a dialectical process that is full of contradictions, a process that is taking place under difficult international political conditions, then we must--when we respect all principles of the dialectical-materialist interpretation of the world of people, nature, and thought--reexamine some of our present concepts and views, sometimes even very profoundly.

This does not mean at all the belittling of results that we have achieved and also disregard for the struggles of entire generations, struggles that frequently involved self-sacrifice. On the contrary. The past is, above all, a period of heroic feats. However, the situation that has come about today is such that, in the interest of the cause of socialism, we must more soberly and realistically than ever before examine many an issue concerning the life of the socialist society. Otherwise, any reference to the principles of the Leninist style of work will become merely an empty and hollow declaration.

We would be insincere if we did not say that, precisely in connection with these requirements, fears are sometimes expressed as to whether there are not some officials [pracovnici] in our structures, especially economic structures, who long ago ceased to "feel the pulse of the working people's life." Concern for their personal provisions sometimes keeps them so busy that, in fact, they have no time to spare for the fulfillment of functions that were entrusted to them by the party. What is evident here is an unwillingness to "go out to meet the people," to get to know their problems and to deal with them, and to look for, find, and implement new approaches ensuing from the nature of economic needs and from the development of science and technology. The political awareness and managerial competence of these people frequently does not reach any further than the tip of their tongue.

Among some functionaries the idea that officials who for various reasons acquitted themselves badly might be recalled from their managerial posts is still associated with the fear that this might erode the party's authority. This is a false and utterly incorrect notion. The opposite is true.

Implementing the historical initiative of Soviet communists and successfully treading the path of active, creative search for the further socioeconomic development of the socialist society--this can be done only by those holders of managerial posts who do not hide behind the party's authority but who, on the contrary, shape this authority and are ready and able to assume responsibility for the difficult struggle for the comprehensive improvement of the developed socialist society.

The dialectics of the Leninist mode of thinking, Leninist approaches, and Leninist way of doing things is a process of incessant inception and extinction, a process of change, movement, and transformation. The socialist society, just as every one of us, is what it becomes in the process of its development. We bear inside ourselves not only that which mankind was, and is, but also that which it will be. And in the interest of this, the future of mankind, it is immensely important that we come to understand the dividing line and the conflict between that which is revolutionary and that which is inertial, and that we give support to and--through more effective recognition and action--develop everything which corresponds to the interests and needs of the further development of socialism.

/8918
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PLAN FOR ENVIRONMENTAL UPGRADING REVEALED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Nov 85 p 1

[Editorial: "To Preserve Ecological Stability"]

[Text] The level of care regarding the environment during the course of the past three 5-year plans has become one of the determining factors pertaining to the growth in the standard of living and, in some regions, has even become one of the limiting factors with regard to development of production forces. With its economic and social influences, this problem is having a constantly more express effect upon the opinion orientation of the populace and is also being felt with greater emphasis in international relations.

It may be said that, both with respect to the formation as well as protection of the environment, Czechoslovakia experienced quite a few successes during the years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. However, some tasks in this area which were called for by the 16th Congress of the CPCZ will not be fulfilled in a completely satisfactory manner. They were not adequately, consistently, and comprehensively assured.

The formation and protection of the environment can no longer get by today without comprehensive and purposeful approaches to the solution of ecologic problems. This is caused both by the high degree of economic and social development in our society, as well as by the considerable density of the population over a relatively small territory, by limited natural resources and by the need to assure self-sufficiency with respect to foodstuffs. All of this should, simultaneously, be in harmony with the necessity to maintain the ecologic stability of the country.

It was roughly this position, as well as a number of other factors, which was taken into consideration in working out the Principles of State Concepts of the Formation and Protection of the Environment and the Rational Utilization of Natural Resources. This document, which was recently approved by the federal government, makes use of the concepts provided by the national governments and is the first comprehensive material which deals with care of the environment in Czechoslovakia. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ lent its full support to this document.

The main theses of these principles are based on the assumption that care for the environment is among the fundamental duties of the socialist state and is an integral part of its economic and social development. The principles are also based on the fact that every organization which influences the environment, no matter in which way, is fully responsible for rectifying any violations it causes and for the effective elimination or utilization of all waste materials. Among others, this shows that the principles of the state concept demonstrate a broader understanding of the environment. This understanding also includes the problem of waste materials, foreign materials, management in the countryside and rational utilization of natural resources, as well as the problems of control, scientific-technical and investment policy, and international cooperation. It may be said that this is a systems concept involving the care of the environment and natural resources, based on the solution of the weakest links of the mutual ties between nature and society in the economic, administrative, and political sphere. Its goal is the gradual harmonization of ecologic, economic, and social aspects involved in the creation of healthy living and working conditions for man.

The primary intention of the principles is the limitation of negative influences of the reproduction process upon the natural environment, particularly where industrial facilities have high concentrations of production and extractive activity. Therefore, at the federal level, provisions to improve the cleanliness of the air will be followed on a priority basis, particularly in both of the capital cities, in the sub-Krusne Hory Basin, and in the Ostrava-Karvina Industrial Region. However, this does not mean that the other regions which require appropriate care and attention in this area have been forgotten. They will be the responsibility of the national governments.

Another priority interest in the state concept, in addition to limiting industrial emissions, is care with respect to the cleanliness of underground and surface waters, protection of the land, and efforts to preserve the fundamental values of the natural environment and beauty of our country.

In conjunction with the evaluation of the current status and the possibilities available to our economy, the above-mentioned principles create conditions for the mitigation of the tendency for the environment to deteriorate during the course of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. This is also the content of the state goal-oriented program No A 12--Creation and Protection of the Environment. It aims at supporting scientific-technical and investment policy in the area of the environment, it strengthens the research, development, and production-supply capacities which act together to improve the natural components of the environment.

It is expected that the extent of investments set aside for solving ecologic problems will attain approximately Kcs 17.5 billion in the Eighth 5-Year Plan--in harmony with the opportunities available to our economy. This is not a small sum and is not even the final sum, since funds from other social sources will also be expended on improving the environment.

Quite a bit will depend on how the above funds will be utilized in building projects having to do with clean air and water, for the utilization or

elimination of waste materials, etc. The attainment of the set targets of the state concept will be accomplished only if the ecological investments do not remain on the fringe of the interests of ministries, economic production units, enterprises, and national committees.

The state program for ecologic investment for the Eighth 5-Year Plan is oriented toward the realization of the most significant projects aimed at decisive sources of water and air pollution and at the elimination of waste materials. The intent is to improve the situation in the most heavily stricken areas. Consequently, the federal government--for the first time in Czechoslovakia--has designated construction projects for the protection of the environment as binding tasks which may not be exchanged for other types of construction projects.

The new state concept also specifies the strict principle that everyone who initiates a new investment project is fully responsible for eliminating all its future possible negative influences on the environment. This will undoubtedly make life more complicated for many an investor--even if the most useful construction projects for the national economy are involved. If this measure is consistently applied, we will all benefit quite a bit.

For a nation with high industrial activity, such as we have, and all the more so if its atmosphere is influenced by the results of high industrial activity in surrounding nations, there is no choice but to tread the path of purposefully improving the environment. No social goal must be realized at the expense of damage to the ecologic balance. The tasks which are outlined in the above-mentioned principles by the federal government are tasks of political and economic significance which determine the future socioeconomic development of our republic.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

IDEOLOGY OF PARTY DOCUMENT SEMINAR--A seminar held in Bratislava on 20 November was devoted to "The Ideological Aspects of the Lessons From the Critical Development in the Party and the Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress." At the seminar, representatives of mass information and propaganda media were briefed on, among other things, the process of disintegration and the causes of the failure of the ideological front in the sixties. The political and ideological concepts of so-called democratic socialism, revisionism, and right-wing opportunism were analyzed. [RUDE PRAVO/CTK report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone Column"] [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Nov 85 p 2 AU] /8918

PEACE COMMITTEE DELEGATION VISITS FRG--Bonn--A delegation of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee led by its acting deputy chairman, Josef Krejci, paid a visit to the FRG from 4 to 9 November at the invitation of Bonn peace activists. The 30-member delegation, which represented a broad range of Czechoslovak peace forces, met with representatives of local peace and antiwar movements in Bremen, Bonn, and Cologne and established friendly contacts with them. At the close of their visit, which was the first of its kind in the history of relations between the CSSR and the FRG, the Czechoslovak guests were received by Heinz Welze, the mayor of Bonn. In the days to come, the leadership of the Czechoslovak delegation will meet for official talks with representatives on peace organizations and movements in Frankfurt and Main and Nuremberg. [CTK report: "FRG--CSSR: Meeting of Peace Forces"] [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 85 p 1 AU] /8918

CSSR GREETES PLO--The Czechoslovak Government has sent a message of greetings to the Palestinian Liberation Organization on the occasion of International Solidarity Day with the Palestinian people. The message expresses the sympathies and support of Czechoslovak people with the just struggle of Palestinian Arabs for their inalienable right for self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state. The message also decisively denounced the attempts of the United States, Israel and the reactionary forces connected with them designed to enforce on the Arab countries capitulationist settlements through separate agreements. These settlements are designed to prevent just solution of the Palestinian issue as a heart of the problem in the Middle East. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 29 Nov 85 LD] /8918

BOLIVIAN CP LEADER--Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, held talks today with Simon Reyes, first secretary of the Communist Party of Bolivia Central Committee, on the activity and main tasks of the two parties. They decisively condemned the action of U.S. imperialism aimed at destabilizing the situation in Nicaragua, and they gave full support to the Sandinista government in its decisive struggle for the defense of the interests of the people of the country. They also expressed solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean people against Pinochet's dictatorship. The Czechoslovak side supported the effort of the Bolivian communists for the defense of the rights of the working class. The representatives of both parties advocated the development of mutually favorable cooperation between their countries. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 27 Nov 85 LD] /8918

IRAQI OIL MINISTER RECEIVED--Lubomir Storugal, the federal premier, received Qasim Ahmad al-Uraybi Taqi, the minister of oil of the Republic of Iraq, who is visiting Czechoslovakia, in the Hrzan Palace in Prague today. During their talks they assessed the results of current cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Iraq, especially in the economic field. They stressed both sides' interest to continue to expand and strengthen these links in the interests of the development of the Czechoslovak and Iraqi national economies. They also exchanged views on some topical international political issues, and the prospects for solving them. Also present at the meeting were Ladislav Gerle, federal deputy premier, and Eduard Saul, federal minister of metallurgy and heavy engineering. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 31 Oct 85 LD] /8918

ANC DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS--Mirolav Stepan, chairman of the International Union of Students [IUS], received yesterday in the Prague headquarters of IUS a delegation of the youth section of the African National Congress [ANC], led by the organization's first secretary, Andrew Mkhize. The IUS and ANC representatives discussed the concept of the joint program of the students' campaigns of solidarity with the struggle of the peoples in southern Africa against apartheid. Later in the day, Andrew Mkhize addressed an enlarged session of the IUS secretariat. [CTK report in the "International Contacts" column] [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Nov 85 p 2 AU] /8918

CZECH DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR CONVENTION--A Czech Communist Party delegation, headed by Central Committee member Karel Henes, arrived yesterday to attend the 20th convention of the Israel Communist (RAKAH) Party. The convention will open in Haifa on Wednesday. More than a dozen other delegations from communist parties in both the Eastern and Western blocs are scheduled to arrive today and tomorrow. [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 2 Dec 85 p 3 TA] /8918

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DETAILS PROVIDED ON FIELD RATIONS FOR GROUND FORCES

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 9, Sep 85 (signed to press 4 Jul 85)
pp 46-49

[Article by Lt Col Spickereit]

[Text] With a combined effort the mobile field mess unit is pushed onto the freight car, then wired and wedged. One of the last activities in putting together a military transport train. Behind the combat unit, in the long railroad convoy, the motor vehicles of the support troops that are indispensable to the units are packed: ambulances, tank trucks, mobile field mess kitchen...

For a few weeks life shifts from the barracks into the field. Many comrades have expectations of the bivouac but it also demands from them, like the supply troops, extraordinary engagement. Instead of tiled kitchen rooms, now sandy forest ground, instead of electricity, now briquettes. Deep pits replace the refrigerator, they have to use the water economically. It is imperative to economize and have the meals according to field needs.

At the edge of the trees, aside from the big trail on which the many vehicle convoys operate, the mess unit sets up camp, deploys. While the motorized rifle company takes up the starting position for the attack, the cooks and drivers prepare their place. Mobile field mess kitchen, water cars, produce tent, tents for quarters, parking spaces, garbage holes, emergency power aggregate, everything must be in its place because the soldiers will soon ask for something warm. The ingestion of the food in the field has no fixed times like in the barracks. That depends on the military duties and is ordered by the commander according to the tactical situation. Under the circumstances lunch may take place at 1600 or breakfast at 0500 hours.

Some companies receive their food here in the camp. Others, however, get it delivered by thermal containers into their operational areas. All operations should be coordinated, the routes exactly calculated in order to offer tasty and warm meals to the fighters, not delay the proceedings of the exercises and nevertheless satisfy the hungry. The operating time for the mess unit is then sometimes quite limited.

To be ready for action at all times for these comrades means to adapt continually to the concerns of the troops, to have hot tea ready, to have cooked a soup or to have already finished the goulash. The stocking of groceries, the

storing, the preparing, the refilling of water, the portioning, the heating, the opening of cans, doing the dishes, cleaning the kettles--out here the cooks and drivers can only allow themselves a short doze of sleep. The best reward for their effort: satisfied soldiers and the question--"you gotta second helping?"

Rations - Basic Standards
(daily in grams)

Meat, sausage.....	220g
Butter.....	50g
Milk products.....	300g
Shortening.....	30g
Eggs.....	35g
Fish.....	45g
Cheese.....	35g
Jam.....	30g
Sugar, Candy.....	30g
Processed Foodstuff.....	60g
Potatoes.....	800g
Vegetables.....	300g
Fruit.....	200g
Bread.....	300g
White bread, pastry.....	200g

These standards, as a rule, are the basis for the meal planning within one 10-day period and in this time should not be exceeded or reduced.

Some standards increase for border troops and air crews (for flight duty) as well as for combat training with special demands.

/7051

CSO: 2300/541

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED RANKS THINNED BY EXPULSIONS

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 21, 1 Nov 85 p 7

[Unattributed article: "More Than 5,000 SED Members Expelled From the Party"]

[Text] Following "personal talks" ordered by the SED Central Committee, 5,146 members or candidate members of the SED (about 0.23 percent) have been removed from the SED. The party parted with 3,787 members or candidate members "who did not fulfill the norms of the party statute" through expulsion or by striking them off. Of these, 1,129 were expelled, and 2,658 members and candidate members were struck off. (According to the party statute, expulsion is considered to be the harshest party punishment; it can be meted out, among other things, against anyone who violates the "unity and purity of the party, fails to fulfill its resolutions," or "does not heed intraparty democracy." According to the statute, members are struck off if they "have lost contact with the party or do not have the desire to fulfill the duties connected with party membership.") In the case of a further 3,167 members or candidate members, "a decision about their continuing party membership is yet to be made." In addition, 1,359 persons, including 37 candidates, declared they were quitting the party. These statistics are contained in an analysis of the Secretariat of the SED Central Committee published in the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on 17 October 1985 under the heading "Report About the Course and Results of the Confidential Individual Talks With All Party Members and Candidate Members." It was reported in it further that the talks--within the framework of the current party elections--were conducted with more than 2.27 million members or candidate members in the almost 60,000 basic organizations and more than 26,000 department party organizations. With 6,050 members or candidate members, who were away or ill, talks are still pending, while 430 refused to attend. The analysis cited the following main reasons for leaving the party: No contact with the party, 74.1 percent; behavior prejudicial to the party, 19.1 percent; unjustified personal demands, 6.8 percent. According to the report, most party members "showed up for the talks well prepared," and the talks had a "great educational effect." For example, the talks showed "that the role of production workers in the life of the party must be raised even further and that the worker's word must be made to count even more." In addition, it had been necessary in the talks to deal with the "attitude of individual comrades" who had tried to "trivialize their shortcomings in mastering the reproduction process and in the work of long-term planning." Further, "some

leading cadres" had to be told "to pay more attention to the views and proposals of workers and to struggle more energetically with the force of the collective for a change in criticized conditions in the production process." The talks had made it clear that "a number of leader comrades have to develop a more pronounced sense of duty regularly to give an accounting to party and work collectives." Finally, the report states in this connection: "In line with the party statute and socialist justice, it is necessary to proceed regardless of the individual concerned against bureaucratic and heartless behavior and the shifting of responsibility by individual leaders and employees."

8790/13046
CSO: 2300/69

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED PROMOTES CABLE TV FROM FRG

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 39 No 45, 4 Nov 85 pp 97, 99

[Article: "Only Snow--Civic Groups Provide for Western TV in the Region Around Dresden--With SED Support"]

[Text] So far the Dresden Bezirk has been pure GDR territory. Because it lacked the range, Western television has been unable to spread its pernicious influence in the far eastern part of the German Democratic Republic.

For years SED ideologists considered this region and some of its neighboring territory to be an oasis of homemade socialism. As in Mecklenburg in the northeast (see map), the people there were spared Rudi Carrell and Jacob's coronation, the Love Boat and bad news from the realm of the SED.

This is now supposed to change. Of all people, the comrades of the state party have now been putting in a word for the class enemy from the silver screen.

For months promoters, often members of the local SED, have been going through villages and small towns from Freiberg to Goerlitz offering to connect TV sets to the Western program. For a fee varying from 600 to 1,500 East marks--depending on the size of the municipal subsidy--citizens can become members of "pools" which, with the aid of superantennas and cable, are to open up the depressed East German TV territory to the ARD [Working Group of FRG Broadcasting Institutes] and the ZDF [Second German Television Program]. Anyone is allowed to participate, whether he is a functionary or pensioner, a mayor, teacher or dissident.

To save face, the party calls the pools private citizens' initiatives. But the authorities are told to give the enterprise their strong support. The state-owned trade supplies the needed technology, and the municipality the required land.

To get Western television into Dresden territory, the East German technicians need two things: a particularly powerful antenna on some hill nearby which, with the help of an amplifier, increases the reception signal from the West and a cable network through which programs can be transmitted to the connected television sets.

Great progress has already been made with cable connections. In numerous villages, cables fastened on wooden or iron poles run along entire rows of streets and residential developments. Some municipalities even place the cables underground.

Yet Western TV does not work out everywhere. In quite a number of places, the hills won't do as antenna sites. They are too low to even guarantee fair reception of the First Program.

Consequently many TV fans, for whom membership in the local association of West viewers means sacrificing a 100-mark or even a 1,000-mark note, are hesitating. Time and again there have been attempts by individual GDR citizens in the Dresden area to extend their individual television horizons with the help of expensive and complex private antennas. But often this results only in snow on the TV screen.

Receiving West German programs, strictly prohibited when the cold war was at its height, and taboo to this day in some circles loyal to the party, has been permitted since no later than 1973. It was then that GDR citizens read a surprising announcement by Erich Honecker in the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. Speaking before the Central Committee, the head of the SED had noted in passing that "anyone in this country can switch on or switch off" radio and television broadcasts of the Federal Republic "as he pleases."

The SED leadership is exceedingly well informed about the viewing habits around the country. It keeps commissioning confidential polls to find out how GDR citizens spend their television evenings. According to the latest figures, 85 percent regularly look at the "Today" news show on ZDF and/or the "News of the Day" on ARD.

According to SED people, it is entirely in the interest of the party for the land around Dresden also to be provided with news from the capitalist West. The lack of information from the West in this bezirk (called laughingly the "valley of the innocent" in the GDR) for years had resulted in unwarranted discontent. The number of applications for travel abroad was higher there than in any other part of the GDR.

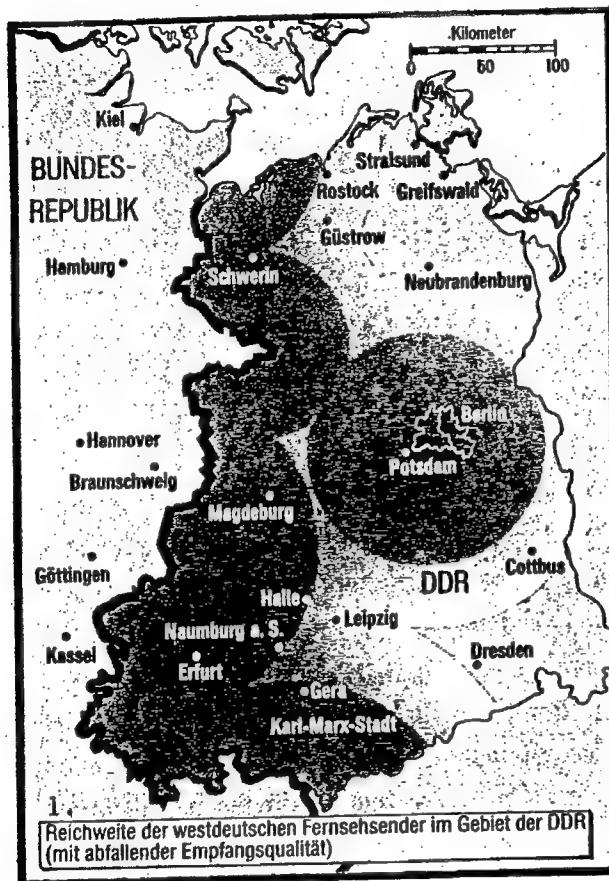
This was what the party was trying to counteract with its campaign to promote Western television. Authentic TV news about mass unemployment, reduction of social payments and new poverty in the Federal Republic, the SED people thought, would deter many a person wanting to travel abroad.

This hope might be a vain one. Experience has shown that fatigue of the GDR overcomes its population in waves. Following an increase in applications in 1975-1976, the number of those wanting to travel abroad dropped steeply and rose again by 1982-1983--despite increasing unemployment in the Federal Republic.

Moreover, the anticipated effect of Western television remains limited for the time being. Dresden, with its 522,000 inhabitants, is being left out in the cold because at present it is beyond the capacity of the GDR to connect that large a town for cable.

The TV gift to the rural population of the Dresden bezirk therefore might have a simple reason: in socialism too, the people need a few private dreams. To have GDR citizens forget their everyday life by looking at the "Black Forest Clinic" in any case is cheaper than the East German television people having to produce their own soap operas.

Quite apart from the fact that they lack the ideological know-how for such kitsch.



Key:

1. Range of West German television broadcasting stations in GDR territory (with dropping reception quality).

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, NOVEMBER 1985

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 11, Nov 85 (signed to press 14 Oct 85)
pp 962, 1055

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, member of the SED Central Committee, rector of the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences; pp 969-976. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Development, Practices of Planned Economy Discussed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Socialist Planned Economy--Basis for the Policy of the Principal Task

The planned economy system functioning in our country, based on the principle of democratic centralism, counts as one of our greatest accomplishments. How has it been perfected in accordance with the requirements of intensive expanded reproduction to continue in ensuring a high economic dynamism as a premise for consistently carrying on the unity of economic and social policy? How, in particular, does it function in tapping new sources of growth and closely connecting science with production?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolek, member of the SED Central Committee, director of the SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management; pp 977-985. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Scientific Progress, Structural Economic Change Linked," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Organic Link Between the Scientific-Technical Revolution and the Advantages of Socialism

Using still more the advantages of socialism for coping with the scientific-technical revolution is of fundamental importance to our country's future. What premises are being created for it--from fashioning a modern material-technical base to forming the combines down to a high educational potential? What tasks arise from the necessarily still closer economic link of science with production? How do management, planning and economic cost accounting stimulate the solution of the tasks, presenting a great challenge to man and his capabilities?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Willi Kunz, deputy director of the SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, and by Prof Dr Wolfgang Salecker, department head at the same institute; pp 986-991. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Comparison Between Combines, Goal Setting Emphasized," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Performance Comparison and Best Values as Guidelines

Performance comparison and experience exchange in and among the combines and the orientation toward optimum economic values resulting from it are an indispensable element of our socialist planned economy. What principles must management activity pay attention to in conducting performance comparisons, and how does one expertly prepare for them? What are the new tasking areas coming more prominently to the fore in the new phase of implementing our economic strategy?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Siegfried Schiller, deputy director of the Manfred von Ardenne Research Institute; pp 992-996. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Technological Development, Industrial Benefits Cited," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Foremost Technologies Demand Daring

It is no easy task to turn scientific-technical top achievements into the basis for our dynamic economic growth, yet it is one that conforms to our remarkable economic potential. What experiences has the Manfred von Ardenne Research Institute had in coping with this task? How does one produce an absolute urge in researchers, scientists and technologists, and in their industrial partners, to thrust into R&D virgin territory, does one promote the risk willingness that is indispensable for it, achieving stable motivations for high achievement?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Beyer, research program head at Institute of the Political Economy of Socialism at the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences; pp 997-1000. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Combine Operations, Effectiveness Detailed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Experiences and Requirements of High Flexibility in the Combines

Decisive for our economic performance growth is how the combines manage to make the reproduction process more flexible, hasten the entire cycle and put new products on the market, proper as to deadlines and demands, whereby to achieve high economic results. How do they, through sales oriented management, use their chances of adapting the entire reproduction process to sales requirements?

[Summary of article by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; pp 1001-1009. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Science and Education for the Future

About developmental problems in ideology, social strategy and practical politics and the mental absorption of the revolution in the productive forces with their profound effects on production and the production structure. What implications are derived from it for universities and colleges in terms of basic research, cooperation with industry, research and instruction, and their enhanced science capabilities and social efficacy?

[Summary of article by Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and department chief in it; pp 1010-1016.]

[Text] Today More Than Ever the Call Goes Out to All

In view of the threat mankind is exposed to by the confrontation and arms buildup course by the most aggressive, particularly U.S., circles, it is of decisive importance to reinforce the worldwide struggle for peace and détente. As in all the 68 years of its existence, Soviet power still stands today in the front rank of this struggle, providing a safe base for it through its peace-commanding strength and its active foreign policy. The GDR stands firmly by the side of the USSR and the other states in the socialist community on behalf of peace and social progress.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the SED Central Committee, minister of university and technical school affairs; pp 1017-1022. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Advanced Training for University and Technical School Cadres

To ensure the educational lead for the resolute implementation of the economic strategy, advanced training for university and technical school cadres is more and more gaining an importance comparable to that of training. Which are the opportunities that must be further explored for advanced training--for engineers and economists in particular--in close cooperation with the partners in the practical fields?

[Summary of article by Dr Guenter Bohn, secretary of the FDJ Central Council; and Hans-Juergen Boettger, graduate social scientist, political staff member of the SED Central Committee; pp 1023-1028]

[Text] MMM--Challenge for Revolutionary Action

How do the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and the FDJ youth research collectives promote creativity in youth? What are the consequences for giving the MMM movement more substance and breadth, assigning ambitious tasks to all youth brigades and pushing the FDJ youth research collectives as initiators in the effort toward scientific-technical top achievements?

[Summary of article by Guenter Hempel, graduate political scientist, sector chief in the SED Central Committee; pp 1029-1034]

[Text] Latin America's Peoples Against U.S. Supremacy

The struggle of the Latin American peoples for peace, national independence and social progress has received a new spur and opposes the forcible efforts by U.S. imperialism to reestablish fully its supremacy over that continent. What place is taken by the Latin American communist parties in the struggle for democracy and against reactionary military dictatorships? The activities of the Contadora states for a political solution in Central America.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Manfred Engert, director of the Institute for the Socialist Countries' Economics and Politics, at the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences; pp 1035-1040]

[Text] U.S. Confrontation Course, Crisis and International Economic Relations

Also in the field of international economic relations, Washington's maneuvering is marked by its search for supremacy. As a component and tool of the confrontation course and of imperialist designs at "coping with the crisis," it is not only aimed against socialism, but produces heavy ramifications for the developing countries. What, in turn, is the significance of the socialist countries' course toward broad cooperation by all forces interested in a recovery of world economic relations for a struggle to safeguard peace?

5885
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PROSPECTIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM NOTED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol. 40 No 11, Nov 85 (signed to press 14 Oct 85)
pp 1001-1009

[Article by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee: "Science and Education for the Future"]

[Text] In his preface to the "Phenomenology of Mind," completed on the eve of the battle of Jena and Auerstedt, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, professor extraordinarius at his alma mater of Jena, wrote: "It is surely not difficult to see that our time is a time of birth and transition to a new period."* With a deep sense of history Hegel had grasped the emergence of bourgeois society as adumbrated in the industrial revolution in England, the French Revolution and the appearance of Napoleon. Bourgeois society, however, was by no means able to turn into reality the ideas of a new period and the ideals of bourgeois humanism. They shattered against the contradictions of capitalism, fascism and the horrors of World War II.

The new period Hegel envisaged did not start for our people until the Soviet Union and its allies had liberated it from Hitler fascism. That initiated an irreversible historic process. In reviewing the last 40 years we have every good reason to assert that we have persistently and purposefully followed the path that took us from the antifascist-democratic transformation via the founding of the GDR and the construction of socialism to the shaping of the developed socialist society, the effort to which we are dedicated today. Its realization will become possible only through a lengthy historic process that cannot be demarcated in terms of time, and in it, as the SED party program states, the prerequisites will be laid for the gradual transition to communism.

In April next year the 11th SED Congress will take counsel on how far we have come in shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR and how SED policy, aimed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace, can continue to be carried out with success. Here it may be assumed that the GDR has achieved a remarkable material and cultural standard of living for the people on an international scale. Great advances have already been made in

*"Phaenomenologie des Geistes," Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 15.

resolving the housing issue as a social problem. Based on socialist production relations the kind of development of our economic potential became possible that allows an ever better satisfaction of the citizens' basic needs like food, clothing, health care, culture and recreation. Secure jobs, a 10-grade school education and skilled training and advanced training are among our significant social accomplishments.

At the 10th SED Central Committee session Erich Honecker affirmed that the course of united economic and social policies will continue. "With this policy the SED will cross the threshold to the year 2000," he said. "We shall achieve the economic performance growth needed for it in accordance with the proven economic strategy for the 1980's, i.e. through the comprehensive intensification of all economic sectors, by still more broadly connecting the results of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, whereby to create all the prerequisites for a continuing gradual elevation of the people's material and cultural standard of living."*

In other words: To raise further the people's standard of living, meet our international obligations, and secure and extend the GDR's place among the progressive and industrially developed countries--in close cooperation of course with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries--steady and dynamic economic growth continues to be necessary, its most important criterion being a long-term stable and high growth of the social labor productivity and of our efficiency. Its basis more than ever lies in the hastening and greater economic and social efficacy of scientific-technical progress.

Karl Marx, who graduated from Jena University, in his preliminaries for "Das Kapital" in the 1850's pointed to the objectively inevitable process of the growing importance of science by observing: "Yet to the extent that large industry develops, the creating of real wealth will become dependent less on working hours and the quantum of work invested but, rather, on the general status of science and the progress in technology, or the application of such science through production."**

A Revolution of the Productive Forces

We may assert that in the GDR science functions more and more as a productive force and the application of most up-to-date technologies is making fast headway. An efficient microelectronics industry was set up that is showing high growth rates. In chemistry and metallurgy refinement measures have successfully been carried through. Modern plants were built, considerable changes in the production profile of entire industrial branches are under way. This trend is going to continue in the five-year plan ahead.

*"Zur Vorbereitung des XI. Parteitages der SED. Aus der Rede des Genossen Erich Honecker, 10. Tagung des ZK der SED" [In Preparation for the 11th SED Congress--From the Speech of Comrade Erich Honecker--10th SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1985, pp 24-25.

**"Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," "Werke" [Works] Vol 42, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, p 600.

There exists agreement that for the development of the natural sciences and technology in the GDR in the period up to 2000 and beyond some chief trends or key technologies constitute points of special emphasis. In the next 15 to 20 years microelectronics, data processing and automation technology are likely to have the greatest and decisive influence on the upgrading of products and methods and on improving labor productivity and efficiency. However, such processes as enhanced refinement of raw materials and energy sources, the development of new working materials, a more rational energy use and the development of nuclear energy and, not last, the development and increasing application of biotechnology in industrial and agricultural production, in public health and environmental protection must by no means be neglected. Special weight attaches to automated design and production preparation (CAD/CAM), automated flexible processing systems and robots, the introduction of new processing technologies, laser technique included. Of course, consideration has to be given way ahead of time to new long-term scientific and scientific-technological developments.

We can already imagine what the material-technical base of socialism will look like by the end of the century. The systematic development and application of the key technologies will more and more bring about a revolution of the productive forces with striking changes in production and the production structure. Only think of the technologies that absolutely depend on efficient information technology, the use of microelectronics in the metal processing industry or the changes going on in metallurgy, chemistry, glass and ceramics industry because of the use of high-grade working materials and accessories.

It becomes clear that through the broad introduction of efficient decentralized information-processing technology a qualitative leap will become possible into controlling many of these material, as well as some mental, processes.

Precisely this breadth of effects to be expected and in part already suggested with respect to the productive force of social labor entitles us to speak of a revolution of the productive forces comparable in its dimensions to the introduction of machine tools and the steam engine in the 18th century. While then mainly man's physical capacities were multiplied by a purposeful use made of the forces of nature, today certain mental processes are being exponentially raised. While through the subsequent development of transport and electrical engineering the availability of energy and matter and their conversion practically became possible any place on the earth, today, through decentralized computer technology and the communications technology connected with it, the availability and job-related processing of information have become possible.

Many consequences of this development are not yet foreseeable today. Social, natural and technical scientists, mathematicians and information specialists are called upon to create conceptual and theoretical leads, rapidly generalize experiences gained, presciently avoid possible mistakes, and use and expand the potentials of the socialist planned economy and of socialist economic integration.

Man--The Principal Productive Force and Measure of All Things

The new technologies can be developed and disseminated and used in a manner conducive to our social order only if the conceptual and theoretical thought and the willingness and ability for cooperation of scientists in various disciplines and between scientists and men of practice are evolved properly. The revolution of the productive forces can only be coped with through a process of collective learning. In it, the availability, reliability, user-friendliness and capabilities of the new technologies will increase more and more, yet what is decisive are the lead ideas, the problem solutions for the rationalization of the processes.

Man is and remains the most important factor for the development and introduction of these new techniques and technologies. He is the principal productive force and simultaneously--in socialism--the measure of all things.

Science, techniques and technology ultimately are only means to satisfy the needs for improved working conditions, for more leisure, for the protection and preservation of the environment, for social security and safety, and for higher and better used skills and cultural experiences.

Science and technology data always come from man's creative work. That work is subject to constant changes. When technical systems take on information functions that can be formalized, from computer-aided constructive and technological designs to fully automated production lines, create the possibility to relieve man of many schematic and routine processes and control and supervisory functions so that he will become more effective in his intellectual-creative activities. Introducing new techniques and technologies generally requires of manpower higher education and skills, more flexibility and diversification. The changes in the character of labor and in working and living conditions affect the production worker and engineer as much as the scientist in the research institute or the physician in a medical institution. It would probably be highly worthwhile to explore more thoroughly still the role of man as the principal productive force in connection with the new trends in scientific-technical progress by philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, scholars of cultural theory, labor scientists and other social scientists.

Peak Performances--Top World Standards

In presenting his idea of a university, Wilhelm von Humboldt pointed out that it was a characteristic of higher scientific institutions that they "always deal with science as a problem that has not yet been quite solved, so that they keep researching." Elsewhere he stresses that in the inner organization of higher scientific institutions everything depended on "maintaining the principle of looking at science as something not yet fully found and never to be fully found, so that they incessantly keep looking for it."*

*"On the Internal and External Organization of Higher Science Institutions in Berlin," "Werke" in 5 volumes, Vol 4, Ruetten & Loening publishing house, Berlin, 1960 etc., pp 256-257.

This conception of science as a creative process calling for a sense for what is new and for the ability to depart from traditional, conventional ideas might seem to be self-evident. Seeking a consistently high theoretical and methodological science level remains a necessary demand nevertheless. It implies the promotion of interdisciplinary cooperation and of a constant further development of the science disciplines as much as a knowledge of the trends in science development and of the concrete, material-technical, economic and social conditions for the implementation feasibility of new data.

University affairs and the Academy of Sciences are responsible for basic research the task of which it is to achieve peak performances and have a hand in determining top world standards.

Through the party and government resolutions on the principal trends and foci of natural science and technology and the long-term cooperation program with the Soviet Union and other socialist states in science and technology provide a safe basis for long-term basic research, guidance to fields where an internationally recognized level has already been achieved or rates as the objective, fine prerequisites existing for scientific top achievements. This requirement is being vested in the basic research 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan and in the conception of the Academy of Sciences and university affairs on the long-term development of basic research up to 2000 in mathematics and natural and technical sciences. The long-term developmental conception of Friedrich-Schiller University conforms to that guideline.

In medical research the major trends and emphases up to 1990 were precisely determined by the 20 July 1985 resolution from the Council of Ministers. That had been preceded by a broad democratic debate with the scientists involved.

The medical research potential is to be strengthened further and concentrated mainly on those tasks and future-bearing research trends the successful dealing with which possesses key functions today and tomorrow for further advances in our socialist practical health affairs. Important to it is to deepen the cooperation between medical research and bioscientific basic research and extend the interlinking relationships with those industrial combines that are important to medical product development.

The central social science research plan provides the social scientists with the research guidance evolved with their active participation. They bear a great responsibility for the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the spread of socialist ideology and the confrontation with anticomunism.

Science and Production

Under our social conditions the planning of the strategically most significant research tasks and the planned fashion of their being implemented are not only possible but are, to an increasing extent, a reality. Naturally, in every phase of our development we also must learn to adapt our cooperation mechanisms, such as those between science and industry, flexibly to new requirements. Everything must be done to hasten the use of economically significant science research data. A common focus on public interests is an advantage of the socialist society that must be used daily anew.

The magnitude of the tasks to be solved in basic research permits neither pessimism nor mental indolence. Instead, what matters is to encourage at all universities, colleges and science institutions that innovator spirit, that drive for new insights, which expresses itself today in the creative achievements and initiatives of so many collectives of scientists, science associates and students. Research always has to seek new cognition, new properties, different solutions and working principles; it must never settle for what there is.

Important is along with it, to develop purposefully those forms and methods of scientific work and study that ensure the highest efficiency and intensity and mobilize the scientists' and students' creative potentials.

There then the organic connection of science with production is what counts. Research cooperation among the combines, the Academy of Science institutes, and the universities and colleges is the fulcrum for further development. It must lead to reciprocal penetration and take its clues from overall social and, above all, economic criteria.

What is innovative is that the mathematical, natural science and technical-technological basic research at the universities and colleges is being made to conform with the combines' strategic requirements for new product and methods development. It means that the combines increasingly give universities and colleges orders for basic research, that universities and colleges offer the combines basic research data, and that R&D in the combines work together with the universities and colleges and the Academy of Sciences institutes in solving basic research problems.

The 10th SED Central Committee session decided largely to expand the combines' relations with the Academy and university affairs and to place them on a stable foundation by concluding commercial contracts. We are convinced such a co-operation on a contractual basis helps further deepen the science-production cooperation and basic research can increasingly better conform to the requirements for the combines' economic and technical-technological development.

Research and Teaching

An important trait of the universities and colleges in our country is the unity between research and teaching. This principle, developed by far-sighted bourgeois science managers in the last century, we have preserved and enriched and--principally in recent years--raised to a higher qualitative level by drawing students into the research. Decisive is for this process that the students get inspired for their field early in the game by having to solve research problems growing in their degree of difficulty and that they do not remain passive over against theoretical knowledge, but learn to ask questions. They mature in this process and ask much more of their teachers than in the classical forms of teaching. They become partners early and thereby, not last, are expanding the research potential.

Computer technology, entering the sections' exercises and practice, will aid in the acquisition of knowledge. A student today in a natural science, technical or economic discipline, using micro or office computers, can through

computer support deal relatively independently with mathematical or logical problems that but a few years ago could have been solved only through centralized large-scale computer technology. This can deepen theoretical training while in part accelerate the move up to scientific frontline problems.

Through the development of economic relations between universities, science institutions and combines, new opportunities arose for students and graduates to make a fine showing early in their efforts for scientific-technical top achievements. Also the relations between the working youth and the student youth can develop more purposefully. We endorse the desire of the FDJ to make a still weightier contribution to economic development and steady scientific-technical growth through theses, engineering projects and dissertations.

Scientific Capability and Social Reality

In his speech at the 12th FDJ Parliament Erich Honecker said there could be nothing more beautiful and nothing better for youth but "carrying the banner or the revolutionary accomplishments of our century across the threshold of the year 2000" and to feel called upon "to connect the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism."*

Those sentences elucidate not only the magnificent prospects the young generation has, they also underscore the absolute unity of technical and political education youth needs to create its own life. To bring about this unity in the entire process of studies, through the concerted efforts of the specialists and those who teach the basics in Marxism-Leninism, is an indispensable condition for having such students graduate from the universities who can make an essential contribution to the shaping of the developed society in a responsible position and who have developed the ability and willingness to acquire knowledge on their own even after their studies and develop politically responsible thought and conduct relative to the whole context.

In view of the dynamic course of the scientific-technical revolution, college education must be as sound and as elastic as never before. To be able always to take up the most recent science and technology accomplishments and react to the needs in social development, higher attention is warranted to the requisite educational lead, the "knowledge for tomorrow." A key issue for it, it turns out, is the proper proportion between basic and specialized knowledge in teaching and studying. By a broader and more deeply founded basic training in the social sciences, mathematics, the natural sciences and the technical fields, we conform to the objectively necessary "alteration of labor, flow of function," to the "all-round flexibility," in terms of the educational ideal established by Karl Marx.

Marx was after "man's absolute availability for changing work requirements," after replacing "the partial individual, merely a carrier of a social function of detail, by the totally developed individual, to whom various social functions are just modes of activities replacing one another."**

*NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25/26 May 1985, p 3.

**"Das Kapital," Vol I, "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, p 512.

From that aspect, the 28 June 1983 SED Central Committee Politburo resolution on revamping the training and advanced training for engineers and economists gains special weight. The broad debate on that conception in colleges and technical school facilities as well as in combines and enterprises, the steps jointly taken to lend substance to the conceptual considerations, and the great attention publicly paid to the matters relating to it clearly reflect the grown responsibility of educational institutions and practical sectors for cadre training. This close connection is important not only for creating an educational lead for engineers and economists who significantly affect the technical-technological level of production, boosts in labor productivity and the management, planning and economic cost accounting. It leads to consequences of principle in further fashioning the science-production cooperation and providing more expertise for university and technical school training.

Through further steps in deepening basic training and differentiating the forms of training and advanced training, through having the students engage in scientific work of their own, and through effectively developing the advanced training system and better reciprocity between training and advanced training, universities and colleges can ensure the higher degree needed in the flexibility and reaction capability to changing social and economic conditions in college education.

That also forms the basis for increasing the achievements of the highest educational institutions in developing gifts and talents, mainly in scientific work.

The high demands made in years ahead on education and training, teaching and research, call for a high status and constant modernization of the material-technical base in colleges. That includes the rational organization of the scientific work processes and an effective use of means and capacities available. It is of an importance of the first rank to tap the rich opportunities to rationalize mental processes and develop the productivity of scientific work through developing scientific equipment construction at the colleges and using modern information technology and other means.

With an eye to the year 2000 we are setting ourselves the task of further developing the universities and colleges as important centers of science, high education and culture. The idea is further to raise their scientific capability and social efficacy in still more emphatically bringing to account science and college education as factors of the first rank for high dynamics in social and economic development and for a varied and rich intellectual-cultural life.

Our Era and Our Responsibility

In the last third of the 20th century, often called the nuclear age, the space age, or the age of information technology, we recall an idea by Friedrich Schiller, expressed in his famous inaugural academic address in Jena, nearly 200 years ago, in troubled world historic times. Friedrich Schiller speaks of the dreams and potentials of creative man and the indissoluble connection of the past, present and future: "All previous ages have exerted themselves to bring about our humane century--without knowing it or accomplishing it.

Ours are all the treasures that diligence and genius, reason and experience have finally brought home through the long age of the world."*

Indeed! In view of today's possibilities of natural science and technology and of the currently suggested enormous revolution of the productive forces one might think man's strength now adequate to resolve all problems of human existence.

The scientific-technical revolution is only one side of the social changes marking our century. The essential mark of our age is that the transition period from capitalism to socialism has set in at a global scale. This era is not of short duration. It embraces a long historic period during which all states and peoples are drawn into the process of social transformation and renewal, on the basis of which alone it becomes possible to solve the social and global problems of our time, to eliminate exploitation, hunger and backwardness. For that the scientific-technical revolution is an important propelling force.

Our era would be incompletely described, were we to ignore the aspirations of the representatives of the old world, the aggressive circles of imperialism, doomed to perish, to eliminate socialism and repress the peoples' national and social movements. These aspirations have increased of late. That is now expressed by the design of the U.S. administration to gain military superiority through an arms buildup policy and the Star Wars concept, abusing scientific-technical accomplishments. That threatens a destabilization of the world situation and presents humanity with the danger of nuclear world conflagration and self-annihilation. To safeguard peace, the militarization of space must be prevented and effective steps have to be taken to halt the arms race, as proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his important speech before French parliamentarians.

Peace is threatened by the policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles. This realization induces more and more scientists in the world to come out against the U.S. Star Wars plans and for a stop in the arms race. They are aware that using scientific and technical accomplishments for developing increasingly more horrible weapons of mass destruction is an abuse of the results of scientific thought and research and offends any kind of humanity.

We completely endorse the remark by Mikhail Gorbachev that humanity must survive. He said: "That can however only be ensured if one learns to live together and get along well on this small planet, if one learns to master the not so simple art of showing consideration for mutual interests."**

The GDR's party and state leadership, especially Erich Honecker personally, through their own initiatives and efforts, seek to create a cooperation of all forces which, with reason and realism and a high sense of responsibility to peace, oppose the decline of mankind in a nuclear inferno. Also the scientists

*"What Is and For What Purpose Does One Study Universal History?" "Werke" in 5 volumes, Vol 3, Volksverlag Weimar, 1963, p 290.

**"Mikhail Gorbachev's Paris Speech--New USSR Proposals to the United States on Stopping the Arms Race," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 4 October 1985, p 1.

and science associates, the students, physicians and nurses, and the workers and employees in our universities and colleges are making an important contribution to the safeguarding of peace.

I have referred to the pervasive social changes in our century to make stand out the enormous historic dimensions of those tasks that we shall have to resolve in years ahead to strengthen socialism and safeguard peace now and in the future. The GDR, you know, is a part of the socialist world system, located at a focal point of the worldwide conflict between socialism and imperialism, progress and reaction, the forces of peace and those of aggression. On the thoroughness and speed in which the developed socialist society is shaped in the GDR depend our people's happiness and future and, with it, the magnitude of our contribution to the further consolidation of the socialist community and the solving of humanity's global problems.

Dedicated to the humanistic and revolutionary ideals and traditions, university affairs in the GDR also face the demands of the present and future, for the benefit and well-being of the people.

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ADVANCED SCHOOLING URGED AS ECONOMIC NECESSITY

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 11, Nov 85 (signed to press 14 Oct 85)
pp 1017-1022

[Article by Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the SED Central Committee, minister of university and technical school affairs: "Advanced Training for University and Technical School Cadres"]

[Text] In the process of the further shaping of the developed socialist society, when pervasive political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes are taking place, science and education are becoming increasingly important. They increasingly pervade all sectors of public life and have a decisive influence on the economy and on the people's working and living conditions, their ideology, education and culture.¹ Higher demands on them are due mainly to the new phase in the sociopolitical development in the states in our community, the high speed of scientific and technical progress, the faster advances needed for comprehensive economic intensification, and the complicated tasks in the international class conflict.

At the 10th SED Central Committee session Comrade Erich Honecker explained that the GDR would cross the threshold to the year 2000 with the policy of the principal task and had what it takes for it.² Among the decisive bases for this long-term strategy is the vast potential of well trained specialists, technicians, master foremen, and university and technical school cadres--science and its application in the reproduction process being one of the decisive factors in our entire economic development.

More and more reality accrues to the ingenious prediction by Karl Marx, to the effect that the real wealth of a society is the developed productive force of all individuals and the full development of the individual in turn reacts as the largest productive force upon the productive force of labor.³ Accordingly, socialist educational policy always has been and is aimed at constantly perfecting and expanding, in the social as well as personal interest, the conditions and prerequisites for all-round personality development. That also includes the development of manifold opportunities for constantly perfecting one's knowledge after the conclusion of training.

This position of principle is all the more important in that, in view of the given long-term conditions for the reproduction of the social labor capacity in the GDR, cadre training becomes an important source for the labor capacity growth. All society must adapt to that.

With a total of 1.8 million university and technical school graduates--by the year 2000 there will be circa 2 million of them--among working people, we command a great intellectual potential for coping with the tasks ahead. Investing it with high effectiveness on behalf of our social, scientific and technical development, requires that these cadres constantly deepen the knowledge they have acquired and that they always are provided with the latest in science, technology and economics. Thereby advanced training becomes an important lever for ensuring the educational lead needed and assumes a position more and more comparable to that of training.⁴

Thanks to the party's far-sighted educational policy, along with setting up a streamlined socialist educational system there has also been set up a complex network for continuing education opportunities in which, apart from universities, colleges and technical schools, educational institutions of the enterprises and combines likewise hold a solid spot. "Urania" also, the Chamber of Technology, science associations and other educational agents assume ambitious tasks in vocational training. Within all these advanced training agencies, our highest educational institutions have the specific responsibility to take on, particularly, the further developing and complementing and upgrading the knowledge of those cadres who already have graduated from universities or technical schools and have already had experiences of their own in the application of science.

To ensure high effectiveness with respect to this, one must proceed from a close connection and interaction between training and advanced training. Even while study plans and instructional programs are prepared for student training, one must take account of the future occupational or social activities of the graduates, and it must be determined which educational and training goals are to be achieved through training, and which through continuing post-graduate education. At the same time, all advanced education measures must be conceived while consideration is given to the training already acquired, and on that basis then must the latest scientific data, procedures and methods be taught. Conceiving and conducting training and advanced training as a complex and streamlined process calls for a self-reliant, ambitious, didactic-methodological structuring of advanced training, proceeding from an already established state of education and the attendants' experiences gained from their practical work.

Advanced training thus makes new and growing demands on the universities, colleges and technical schools. The effectiveness of advanced training measures for university and technical school cadres already employed greatly depends on the degree to which significant results, coming out of one's own and out of international research, are being conveyed that can produce the requisite educational leads. In turn, the attendants themselves often contribute to a growth in knowledge through their own experiences in applying the latest science data in their practical activity. Much more must be gained from this enrichment of instruction and research.

Educational Lead for Implementing the Economic Strategy

While in the past the advanced training for working cadres at universities, colleges and technical schools principally served to convey urgently needed basic science data for functions and activities already assumed or exercised, or to make graduation possible from a university or technical school, at present a functional change is taking place under the impact of the rapid scientific-technical progress and the dynamic development of the economy and of other public sectors. Advanced training now increasingly provides the cognitive and knowledge leads that are imperative for production substitution, for developing and producing new commodities by more efficient technologies and procedures, and for high increase rates in labor productivity and high rates for spreading innovations. Through controlling and coping with key technologies which have a great influence on science, technology and production, entirely new tasks arise in the work of designers, project planners, technicians, economists and other specialists. The penetrating consequences suggesting themselves, e.g., from the rapidly increasing use of information technology and its further improvements in all sectors of R&D, production, management and planning, or the requirements resulting from the application of biotechnology, the CAD/CAM technique, will lead to essential changes in the working functions of many university and technical school cadres and, hence, to requirements for higher skills.

Proceeding from there, universities and technical schools intensively seek to make advanced training opportunities practically ever more effective. The success of such endeavors will essentially depend on how the combines themselves determine and articulate the requirements and needs in advanced training, and how one achieves close cooperation in this field.

The highest educational institutions have addressed these new advanced training tasks for several years already. The comprehensive opportunities in this field and the growing number of attendants attest to that. In the period of the now ending five-year plan, the universities and technical schools had some 340,000 graduates, 55 percent more than in the previous five-year plan period. In 1984, in the universities alone, some 60,000 working cadres successfully attended various types of advanced training, courses, postgraduate studies, partial courses or as not fully registered students. Such advanced education centers as microelectronics/electronic components of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Technical College, energy economy and technology at the Zittau Engineering College, mathematical cybernetics/computer technology/data processing at Dresden's Technical University, metallurgy at the Freiberg Mining Academy, and polymer compounds of the Carl Schorlemmer Technical College in Leuna-Merseburg have a great share in it with their activities. A specific task goes to the institutes for socialist economic management in training executive economic functionaries.

For 1985 the universities, colleges and technical schools, in close cooperation and coordination with their partners in practical fields, offered some 600 courses and 100 postgraduate studies only for training engineers, economists and natural scientists. The broad spectrum of the technical sciences, e.g., contains many courses providing the engineers with more knowledge about using microcomputer technology for the analysis and control of

technical processes, the solving of complex tasks in the use of robots, and the rationalization and modernization of the material-technical base in the combines and enterprises.

By setting up CAD/CAM centers at Dresden's Technical University and at the technical colleges of Karl-Marx-Stadt and Magdeburg as well as at the engineering school for machine building and electrical engineering in Berlin-Lichtenberg, in this field as well the advanced training potentials are being concentrated and vastly expanded. In the 1985/86 school year, these four centers and another 12 universities offer nearly 100 advanced courses for chiefs, designers and technicians, and CAD/CAM developers and users.

For biotechnology above all the engineering college of Koethen and the Martin-Luther University in Halle-Wittenberg have set up advanced training courses that will help ensure the needed educational lead. The spectrum for tasks and problems in the foreign economy was purposefully improved; it covers circa one fourth of the courses geared to the economic sciences. An important contribution comes from university affairs furthermore to training the university and technical school cadres in Marxism-Leninism and foreign languages and to the teachers' and physicians' continuing education. For teachers, physicians and executive industrial cadres stable advanced training systems have already been set up; they are functioning successfully.

The quantitative development of advanced training in recent years was directly linked with enforcing higher demands on the substantive level:

--Advanced training was thematically more strongly concentrated on economic strategy priorities, mainly on the scientific-technical progress.

--Through resolutely implementing the principle of the unity of teaching and research, the latest science data and developmental trends are systematically and steadily being conveyed to the specialists in research and in the practical fields.

--The universities use their potentials for interdisciplinary work to convey data in important and propitious peripheral fields of science and technology.

--More attention is paid in instruction to the unity of natural science, technical and social science insights.

Crucial for increasingly purposeful advanced training has been that the co-operation relations of the universities, colleges and technical schools with the practical fields have become more stable and closer. By the results achieved thus far a good starting basis has been created to be able to meet the new social demands and criteria for advanced training.

Most urgent are the development and effective organization of advanced training for engineers and economists. A decisive guideline for that was issued in 1983 by the party's and government's "Conception for Structuring the Training and Advanced Training of Engineers and Economists in the GDR."⁵ Its step-by-step application aims not only at improving studies in technical and economic science departments, it also touches on the long-range organization of university and

and technical school affairs as such. That concerns the future substantive structure of the educational process in conformity with the diversified public demands as well as new ways and solutions for still more closely linking training with advanced training.

More Accurate Criteria for the Opportunities and Forms of Advanced Training

Raising the effectiveness of advanced training for the benefit of economic performance improvements turns out to be a multilayered problem. The heavy changes going on in the reproduction process tend to substitute embodied labor gradually for live labor. At the same time, however, live labor, as the actual "vivid and forging fire"⁶ of production, is gaining an increasing economic place value. Thus it is in practice more important than ever to be careful about and handle responsibly the working hour assignments. So the combines, enterprises and other practical partners need advanced training measures from the universities and technical schools that guarantee a high effectiveness in rational time allocations, purposefully and with discernment take account of the knowledge and skills on hand, and ensure great energy and creative participation by the ones enrolled.

Therefore it is up to the universities and technical schools to conclude firm deals with their partners in the practical fields on the object and ways and means of advanced training, to make sure that way that the ongoing and the prospective scientific, technical and economic requirements are fully taken into account. Above and beyond that, the division of labor cooperation with other training agencies, such as the science associations, the Chamber of Technology, "Urania," and enterprise training facilities, are made so diversified and purposeful that a high effect is attained. The practical partners, on the other hand, must make sure that the advanced training measures, set up in accordance with their own suggestions and desires, are fully used.

To the group of attending cadres and in accordance with the goal of advanced training, the following forms and possibilities should be further explored and developed:

--Intensive forms of advanced training studies and events where new insights of one's own and of the international science development are submitted or discussed. That sets the premises for putting out and for rapidly putting into production, through R&D, qualitatively novel commodities, technologies and procedures. Brief 1 to 2-week courses and problem seminars lasting a few days with executive cadres and scientists from the combines' R&D departments have been found beneficial for it. More than thus far should science affairs like research colloquies and dissertation defenses be used for it.

--Postgraduate studies leading to a vocational certification, conducted on the basis of a systematic delegating of attendants by the practical partners with the idea of instructing in new data and, together with it, specialized knowledge through a systematic course in rapidly developing science areas. They normally are offered as correspondence courses lasting 3 to 4 semesters or more and more also as one-semester full-time courses and have been found beneficial. Making postgraduate studies more effective requires, however,

checking the topics of the courses offered, rationally making the content of studies conform with any given objectives, and making the forms and the process more flexible. To that end one is also contemplating combining direct and correspondence courses in part.

--Extra studies for university and technical school graduates who through direct or correspondence courses lasting one or several semesters acquire additional training in a different field, might become graduate physicists, e.g., to work in nuclear power plants.

--A still more target-directed use to be made of the 200 consultation and counseling centers at the universities and colleges, as connecting links between the college and the practical field to foster a rapid research data transfer, and to provide target-directed counseling and experience exchange on scientific-technical problems.

--Extracurricular and systematic assistantships for scientifically qualifying a larger number of able engineers and economists for the R&D areas in the combines and enterprises and for assuming managerial functions in production preparation.

To train further engineers and economists with technical school degrees already holding jobs new solutions have to be offered that take account, particularly, of the quality of our technical school training and of the high effectiveness of the cadres concerned. Above and beyond the regular advanced training opportunities going along with the job, which will remain the main form of postgraduate training also for these people, special training courses are being set up--including a specific correspondence course program--to lead to university graduation or a diploma. To be delegated for it there must, above all, exist social needs calling for the upgrading of a science-oriented qualification profile for a certain group of engineers and economists.

Ensuring High Effects of Advanced Training through Mandatory Rules

It turns out to be urgently necessary to conceive of a systematic and obligatory advanced training for the university and technical school cadres in the branches and sectors of the economy that makes sure that the needed changes in the qualification requirements and structures are considered ahead of time and ensured by appropriate steps. One of the most important experiences in advanced teacher training and medical continuing education underscores that a planned further education of university and technical school cadres that will not settle for spontaneous reactions to passing needs must primarily be enforced as mandatory by the central state organs within the periphery of which these cadres work.

Through the "Conception for Structuring the Training and Advanced Training of Engineers and Economists in the GDR" the unity between training and advanced training is made explicit and its being implemented at a higher level is made into a demand. Thus a university graduation must guarantee the full professionalism of the graduates. At the same time it becomes ever more pressing, in view of the dynamic development of science and technology and the high innovation rates in production, to conduct advanced training measures

for graduates even during their early years on their jobs, to deepen the special knowledge they have for carrying out their specific functions and train them well ahead of time for work in different fields, as envisaged for our development. Precisely this process it is that must be made systematic and flexible and as compulsory as necessary.

Many conferences with combine and enterprise functionaries made apparent that planned, systematic and obligatory advanced training--indispensable not only for young graduates, but for all graduates--cannot simply be instituted by a superimposed administrative system. Rather, the heads of the combines and enterprises have to set down specifically which measures are necessary for developing their associates' capabilities. That seems to be right now the most important handle for enforcing planned advanced training.

A higher authority for establishing advanced training must be able to depend above all on cooperation agreements between the university and the practical partners. The many already existing agreements have to be more fully exploited with respect to advanced training. Especially good experiences have come from the cooperation between the Otto von Guericke Technical University in Magdeburg and the Ernst Thaelmann heavy machine building combine, between the Karl-Marx-Stadt Technical University and the Fritz Heckert machine tool combine, and between Dresden's Technical University and the NAGEMA Combine.

Together with the importance of advanced education for economic performance increases there also grows the need scientifically to penetrate this process itself within the scope of educational research. Together with many practical partners, the Chamber of Technology and the science associations, the Central Institute for University Education only recently conducted a scientific working conference on this set of problems with success. In its perimeter and at the conference itself we received many new suggestions on more effectively structuring advanced education and gathered many experiences worthwhile generalizing, yet we also observed the need for a more purpose-directed development and practical testing of new solutions. For ultimately all pertinent measures and considerations will have to prove themselves by being able to multiply the efficacy of the intellectual potential through the closer economic inter-linkage between science and production, between the combines and enterprises and the universities and technical schools.⁷

In preparing for the 11th SED Congress, all universities and colleges, together with their practical partners, are working with greater efforts on further developing our advanced education. By solving this task of high social rank we shall make an important contribution to developing the productive forces of our socialist society, to economic performance increases, and to the consolidation of socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. Zentralstelle fuer Lehr- und Organisationsmittel des Ministeriums fuer Hoch- und Fachschulwesen, ed., "18 March 1980 SED Central Committee Politburo Resolution--Tasks of the Universities and Colleges in the Developed Socialist Society," "V. Hochschulkonferenz der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik," Zwickau, 1981, pp 363 ff.

2. Cf. "Zur Vorbereitung des XI. Parteitages der SED, Aus der Rede des Ge-
nossen Erich Honecker, 10. Tagung des ZK der SED" [In Preparation for the
11th SED Congress--From Comrade Erich Honecker's Speech--10th SED Central
Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1985, p 24.
3. Cf. Karl Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy,"
"Werke" [Works], Vol 42, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, pp 604, 607.
4. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen
Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Com-
mittee Report to the 10th SED Congress], Dietz publishing house, Berlin,
1981, p 95.
5. Cf. "Conception for the Structuring of the Training and Advanced Training
for Engineers and Economists in the GDR," DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN, No. 9, 1983,
pp 251 ff; cf. also Hannes Hoernig/Karl-Heinz Goiczyk, "Technical Sciences,
Engineering Training and Scientific-Technical Progress," EINHEIT, No. 12,
1983, pp 1118 ff.
6. Karl Marx, "Principles . . .," op. cit., p 278.
7. Cf. "Zur Vorbereitung . . .," op. cit., p 34.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BISMARCK BIOGRAPHY REVIEWED

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pp 1049-1051

[Review by Prof Dr Konrad Canis, of the History department at the Humboldt University in East Berlin, of book "Bismarck--Urpreusse und Reichsgruender" [Bismarck--Prussian Prototype and Founder of the Empire], by Ernst Engelberg, Akademie Verlag, East Berlin, 1985]

[Text] Bismarck undoubtedly is a towering figure of German history. What access do we find to him today? The historic era that he and the German Empire, founded mainly through his efforts, belong to is irrevocably finished. We certainly have no wreaths to weave for the sworn enemy of the revolutionary fighters on the barricades of 1848 and the initiator of the socialist law. But that was not the whole Bismarck. He also is the chancellor who after 1871--differing from his successors--engaged in a realistic foreign policy intent on the empire's security, and mainly also he is the "royal-Prussian revolutionary" (Engels) who in his manner, the Junker's manner, from the top, helped historic progress, the bourgeois transformation, to make a breakthrough in important areas. All of Bismarck is what we are facing up to, as we are facing up to all of German history.

Such a remark is by no means new to someone who knows our concept of history. With the shaping of the developed socialist society a qualitative further development took place on a new plane of research marked, among other things, by that greater efforts were made to explore and present the totality of the historic process from which our society of today emerged, its dialectical contradictoriness and the constant struggle between progress and reaction. This is an old basic principle of Marxist-Leninist policy and its concept of history. Lenin demanded long ago, in 1921, that one must comprehend all sides, connections and reciprocities of a subject to truly understand it.

Thus also about Bismarck's policy Marxist historians have for decades presented many special studies and summary accounts. But a large and all-inclusive biography was missing. Ernst Engelberg devoted himself to that task and provided himself with the solid historical and source foundation needed for it through long years of research.

First came his dissertation on the struggle of the workers movement against Bismarck's social insurance policy, which communist Engelberg could complete just barely before he was arrested in 1934 by the fascist myrmidons and publish only years later after returning from his emigration. Then came the two university textbooks with their complex accounts for German history from 1849 to 1897 and the fundamental surveys on the methodology of historiography. From there came studies in which Engelberg, in a profound theoretical sense, illuminated basic processes of German history, such as the total process of the bourgeois transformation, the "revolution from the top," the Prussian reforms, and phenomena like Bonapartism and militarism. In parallel with it he worked up immense source material, largely also unprinted archival resources, on the biography of Bismarck's and the perimeter of it.

On such a foundation alone it was possible for him to prepare a Bismarck biography that combines methodological mastery in its presentation with a high increase in scholarship. Engelberg proceeds from the principal content of that era: the bourgeois transformation, the objective need for it and its specifics in Germany, and from the situation and politics of the classes, determined above all by the bourgeoisie's waving its claim, for fear of a people's revolution, fully to exercise its hegemony. From such specifics he explains Bismarck's elbow room, his "freedom under constraint," which amounted in his implementing, from his Junker type of class position "partial progressive goals of the bourgeoisie in a fashion that also conformed to the interests of the Prussian crown" (p 571).

In dealing with the interactions between the events of the time and the individual personality, the author gives the latter his central attention in order to present from there the general connections, personality and environment in their concrete reciprocities and interlinkage. Decisive to him remains Bismarck's being socially and historically rooted in the Junker class and the Prussian state. Yet he seeks to grasp the dialectical unity between the social perimeter and the individual nature of the personality. In order to open up this web of relations, a great amount of space was devoted to an examination of his origin and youth and the beginnings of his political activity with the various influences that shaped the young Bismarck, and this through abundant source references and fastidious scholarly penetration.

That makes it possible, e.g., convincingly to explain Bismarck's early pronounced striving for power and his lack of fulfillment in the confines of a barren life of mere land-ownership or as a second-rate civil servant; therefore he can explain the roots of Bismarck's personality in a manner henceforth not achieved in all the literature about Bismarck. Moreover, this method announces generally a new level in Marxist-Leninist biography writing.

Ernst Engelberg pursues Bismarck's development up to the founding of the empire (1871). Out of the immense wealth of insights, in the following we shall merely point out some major aspects of this important work.

The 1848/49 revolution not only offered Bismarck the long desired opportunity for political activity, it became a political key experience to him, as the author demonstrates. Initially strictly dominated by the idea of a junker

counterrevolution, the events of the revolution then yet induced Bismarck to re-examine his previous positions. And a learning process started that began to remove him from the unrealistic ideas of his conservative friends, the Junkers. To be sure, he did not penetrate to the core of social structure and development, contemplating "not essential needs, but final necessities," as Engelberg puts it. His style of thinking "remained totally committed to empiricism. But precisely from there to a limited extent in time and space, he gained a realistic view of power relations and men in action and was able to develop a strategy and tactics" (p 453).

In 1858 at the latest it was complete. It aimed at strengthening the Prussian crown to preserve the power of the Junkers, at holding down the masses, especially the workers class, at turning down bourgeois-parliamentary and democratic claims to power, Prussia's hegemony in Germany, the barring of Austria, the divesting of the reactionary German League. This strategy and the tactics that went with it were tailor-made for the bourgeois-capitalist development. Bismarck had realized that the Junkers could oppose liberalism in central power issues all the more effectively, the more they would accommodate the national-political and economic aspirations of the bourgeoisie.

To be sure, he got the chance to carry through his program principally because of the bourgeoisie's fear of revolution and anti-democratism. "Out of the suspicious uneasiness of these bourgeois politicians about the masses there grew more and more the yearning for the 'great man' who would bring off the effort of the bourgeois transformation and the national-political unification" (p 484). For a revolutionary-democratic unification from below, however, there hardly were any chances because of the external fragmentation and the internal discord within the opposition. The workers class was not yet ready to assume the lead for such a movement.

Yet even Bismarck had to reconcile himself to enforcing his strategy under such conditions. They constrained him. From such dialectical interaction alone can one explain that and how Junker Bismarck became the executor of the 1848 revolution while remaining the custodian of its counterrevolution. Social conditions and personal abilities came together. Engelberg's summary: "Endowed with the rare gift to be able to grow above himself, a thoroughbred politician, he became the founder of the empire because he could do what he wanted to do and wanted to do what he could." His limitations are seen in his confining himself to an anti-democratic junker-bourgeois class compromise. The "developing workers movement he met with a profound sense of historic ignorance." Contradictory and ambiguous as he himself his work was too, "revolution from the top" and the founding of the empire, but "altogether it still was a significant historic step ahead" (p 761).

Even for the workers movement it was, however limited, a historic step ahead. While bourgeois historians confine the transformations almost exclusively to the political-governmental sphere, Engelberg also comprehensively works out the economic and social aspect of the "revolution from the top," the chances for capitalism to spread, the more favorable conditions for the development of the workers class and its organizations, which affected the development of the workers movement already between 1866 and 1870 despite of its being defeated by Bismarck's policy.

It was not easy for the functionaries of the young workers movement, just setting itself up, to look through such intricate interconnections. Some, Wilhelm Liebknecht among them, temporarily got close to federalist forces, in danger of getting onto the side of reactionary particularism. The book demonstrates how much strength the particularist forces still had at that time, especially in South Germany, "so that they, if need be, could foil Bismarck's plans" (p 704). Simultaneously the bourgeoisie put more pressure on him to complete the founding of the empire. His leeway for action was threatened, he felt jeopardized between the frontlines. It was, as Engelberg writes, "the toughest tensil test of his life," which was resolved only over the war against France (p 703).

Discrimination in looking at the class forces, political movements, states and personalities is altogether one of the special advantages of this work. Out of the great variety of examples, again we shall mention but a few: the important realization that the peasantry was already much more differentiated before 1848 than has always been maintained; the increasing division of the bourgeoisie into the trend of liberal politicians and ideologists and the "businesslike" bourgeoisie, with which Bismarck was dealing; the comparative analysis of the Prussian and the reactionary Austrian state before 1866; the lack of perspective in the Junkers' conservative currents; the discriminating evaluation of Lasalleianism; the striking characterization of Bismarck's contemporaries, such as Wilhelm I: "Three wars, three victories, thrice celebrated a dumb fool!" (p 758).

Ernst Engelberg's achievement is attributable to his exemplary mastery and application of the Marxist-Leninist theory and method of historiography, his comprehensive knowledge of sources, his penetrating intellectual confrontation with Bismarck's personality and environment, and his sovereign knowledge of overall German history in that era, and not last, to his vivid presentation literary in quality. Subtly attuned to whatever subject matter is to be treated, the author uses the whole scale of portrayable possibilities. The work impressively enriches our historical science and our image of history. One would wish the author to present his second volume soon, which goes into Bismarck's work after 1871 and the perspectives of his and the empire's policy.

5885
CSO: 2300/73

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PROFESSIONALS CONCERNED ABOUT THEATER'S PARLOUS STATE

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 171, 8 Nov 85, "kultur" supplement
pp 1-2

[Article datelined IWE Berlin 8 Nov 85: "GDR Theater Congress Under Signs of a Crisis"]

[Text] The Fifth Congress of the GDR Association of Theater Professionals will take place in the East Berlin Congress Hall from 11 to 13 November. As confirmed by recent statements of cultural functionaries and theater managers, the congress is being held marked by profound structural, personal and also artistic crisis phenomena which are expressed, among other things, in a continuing decline in the audience. According to East Berlin information, the thus far smallest attendance figure of 9.8 million patrons was recorded last year. This applies equally to opera, operetta and drama. Martin Meyer, the GDR deputy minister of culture, attributed this development in the first place to the lack of quality of many stage productions. It is necessary "to get to the bottom mercilessly and emphatically" of the differences in theater attendance. At a Central Exchange of Experience convoked by the ministry of culture concerning this problem, on the other hand, the inclination was to make TV responsible for the decline in theater attendance, which has "created barriers to presentations that do not appear to be authentic from a documentary point of view among considerable parts of the public."

The development of the companies also causes worries in the GDR. The factual permanence of the position of the artistic staff in the opinion of many theater managers is the cause of stagnation and superannuation of the companies. As a result, a continuous replacement of the generation structure is prevented, Fritz Roedel, the director of the East Berlin Volksbuehne thought. In addition, there is a chronic shortage of new young talent, which is even more obvious in the musical theater than in drama. Especially the small and medium-size opera houses lack soloists, members of choirs and orchestra musicians to an extent that, in the opinion of the critics, artistically responsible performances hardly occur, apart from the necessary contraction of the repertory. But also the big, highly subsidized houses in East Berlin, Dresden and Leipzig do not fare decisively better. Thus the choir of the East Berlin State Opera has reached the stately average age of 49 years. Director Guenter Rimkus noted that in prominent voice fields for the Italian and German opera there are hardly any young singers in sight.

Moreover, theater work in the GDR is made more difficult by the political-ideological pressure exerted by the SED. The party criticism is directed against the "fatalist" staging of the classics as well as--and this to an even much stronger degree--against the contemporary plays by GDR dramatists. A study by the Academy of Social Sciences with the SED Central Committee on GDR drama from 1975 to 1982 comes to the conclusion that no author succeeded in "creating large stage figures with model character." The party is especially concerned with activating models on the stage. However, most authors "have no priority interest in that," criticized the East Berlin periodical THEATER DER ZEIT, but rather in the presentation of social contradictions.

The GDR theater landscape is as diverse as it is fragmented. At present there are 72 independent theaters with directors of their own, 36 of them multi-field stages. A total of 188 halls were used for performances last year. A fundamental structural reform has been under discussion for years in the theater association and in the Ministry of Culture without any tangible results being evident. Under discussion are combining of smaller theaters, more pronounced specialization of the stages as well as closing of theaters, especially in the field of opera.

12356
CSO: 2300/70

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG DAILY ASSESSES THEATER PROFESSIONALS CONGRESS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Nov 85 p 27

[Article signed "S.W.": "Theater Made to Order--the Congress of the GDR Theater Specialists Association"]

[Text] Like all branches of the arts, theater in the GDR has its own official umbrella organization. It is the Theater Specialists Association. The association gathered for its fifth congress, in Berlin, in the past few days. The news about such artists congresses always sounds good. In this spirit, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reported that the great expectations of the congress had been completely fulfilled and that the debates had been marked by great political responsibility and sincerity. The optimism in public smoothes out the problems which have been voiced in the working groups.

The association's journal, THEATER DER ZEIT, at any rate, anticipating the congress in its latest issue, identified some of the acute difficulties. Under the heading "Where Are Our Standards?" it prints an interview presenting differing views on the question of binding artistic criteria. "I have the feeling that we do not always know exactly what we want because we do not have any precise intentions. Therefore we also allow a lot and are pleased that something is sprouting everywhere, be it good or bad, progressive or faddish. All his life Iiring fought for Brecht--that was his standard. That does not exist today--somebody saying, 'This is my standard.' And it is that very thing which represents insecurity, I think." In those words Christoph Schroth, acting director general of the Schwerin Municipal Theater, deplored the lack of discipline. And theater critic Dieter Kranz of Berlin radio replied to him as follows: "I do not see that kind of insecurity. Rather, I see various people applying various criteria, and I consider that to be legitimate. I refuse to say: I want that, and I don't want that. I want Harry Kupfer, and I want Ruth Berghaus." And this is how functionary Hans-Rainer John, chief editor of the association's journal, summed up the state of affairs: "At the bezirk delegates conference of our association, it was stated repeatedly that in our theatrical practice the balance between tradition and innovation often is disturbed, that the theater not always serves the new demands of new plays or imposes on old plays formal structures or contemporary attitudes which change their substance. Concerning such procedures, it was stated, there are no harmonizing attitudes based on uniform standards."

In an interview published in the same issue, opera producer Harry Kupfer voiced his support for a scope of interpretation determined rationally, historically and contemporarily: "One is under an obligation to come up with aspects which particularly concern us today. Then one can again speak of fidelity to the work, even if there perhaps emerges an interpretation which is quite different from the traditional one." On the other hand, he voiced strong opposition against a production which realizes itself in "contradiction to the musical diction" of a composer," saying: "It is being assumed today that a certain unity of spirit and music is not absolutely required. On the contrary, one finds it particularly fashionable and interesting to break these elements apart. For me, the unity of the musical and intellectual statement, the unity of word and music (and I speak of unity in the dialectical sense) is an iron law."

The party-oriented theater theoreticians say somewhat equivocally that they advocate stricter regimentation of the freedom of production, citing an international trend, as Rolf Rohmer does in the following statement. "The fact that producers of the Western avant-garde are turning toward 'traditional' theater is in accord with the new situation. However, imperialist neoconservatism also stands ready to absorb disappointed avant-garde hopes. Becoming again aware of traditions and making one's heritage one's own for current times is nothing new for socialist cultural policy and our theater. It is not a question of imitating previous artistic practice or perhaps of imitating the past in a historical manner; what is in demand is the whole wealth of historical traditions and the ability to make these traditions fruitful in contemporary cultural processes."

The socialist distrust of production avant-gardism is benefiting from a Western tiring of experimental theater without taking into account the fact that GDR stages have been able to share in the avant-gardism of the past 15 years only in a very limited way. The officially purported surfeit with interpretive departures does not accord with the internal unrest. The privileged GDR producers who visit the Federal Republic to stage productions are evidence of this, for they do not by any means operate the same way here and over there. The unorthodox things they like to go in for in Munich, in Duesseldorf or in Frankfurt/Main are not possible in East Berlin. But the question as to whether by now an important part of GDR theater no longer finds its way to the GDR stages is of course left out of public discussions. No utterances are noted by producers who would be the ones to comment on this. Ruth Berghaus, Bernd K. Tragelehn, Thomas Langhoff and even Alexander Lang were not in evidence at the congress of the association.

On the other hand, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reports a plea by Heiner Mueller for promoting literary talent: "To discover a burgeoning talent, he said, is midwife's work requiring a lot of care and experience. He advocated that playwrights should participate more in the discussion of new material for plays and pointed out that the GDR had a huge reservoir of talent worth promoting. Losses also in 'seed' were unavoidable in our struggle for a world without war and exploitation. All forces should be mobilized to keep such losses at a minimum."

The development of newcomers in all fields apparently is the greatest concern. This subject came up at the press conference at the end of the congress of the association. At the same time, strong unconditional opposition was displayed against the suspicion that it was precisely the gifted producers who were creating new problems with their willfulness. A comment on this had been made in the association journal by young producer Freya Klier a few months ago: "Our training was based on a theory which had an unfavorable effect: the personalities of students first were to be reduced to zero and only then to be developed. In the end we turned pale and colorless in the process, and our self-confidence was pretty much gone." In the accounting report about the conference, an attempt was again made to obliterate the difficulties and their causes. The spokesmen occupying the podium at the press conference bore witness only to the GDR theater of the functionaries. Neither the reelected association president, Hans-Peter Minetti, nor Vice President Rolf Rohmer nor Secretary Hans-Rainer John are permitted any doubt that practice agrees with the declaration of intention: "No important topic of social interest must fail to be represented in the spectrum of repertoires. It is necessary to make use of all forms of representation and portrayal suited for this." With such big words, used in the greetings letter to the general secretary of the Central Committee of the party, the association concluded its congress.

8790/12859
CSO: 2300/77

AUSTRIAN JOURNAL ON HUNGARIAN CENSORSHIP, CULTURAL FREEDOM

Censorship Methods

Vienna PROFIL in German 11 Nov 85 pp 50-51

[Article by Otmar Lahodynky: "Censoring and Deleting--Kadar's Course of Reform Also Leaves a Certain Amount of Elbowroom to Culture--As Long As Its Limits Are Respected"]

[Text] Police who stopped a Budapest taxi last week made a strange discovery: in the car lay 700 copies of a book with a title uncharacteristic of a samizdat work--"Concerning an East European Marxism" by the two antiregime authors Janos Kis and Gyorgy Bence.

Hungary's dissidents were surprised. They had felt secure from police actions for the duration of the CSCE Cultural Forum being held in Budapest until late November. Even before the cultural congress of the 35 signatories to the Helsinki agreement had begun, the Kadar regime had put its most liberal foot forward. There were no searches of residences any longer. Regime critic Gyorgy Krasso no longer was kept under police surveillance, and producer Rezso Forgacs was released early from imprisonment. The latter had had the unfortunate idea of having a few lightly clad ladies mime erotical scenes in accompaniment to a reading from Ezra Pound's "Cantos." He got 7 months in jail because of "public obscenity."

Last month the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (chairman: Karl Johannes Schwarzenberg) was allowed to hold a seminar of writers from East and West. Only the participants had to move from the hall of a hotel, which they were suddenly prohibited from using, to private residences. (See interview below)

To what extent Kadar's course of reform also permits a certain amount of elbowroom is something which was analyzed by regime critic Gyorgy Bence in a new report published by the Helsinki Federation.* "Hungary's writers and artists are definitely aware of their privileged position compared with Romania, the CSSR or the Soviet Union," admits Bence, pointing to the danger of being taken over

*"Censored and Alternative Modes of Cultural Expression in Hungary." Available as of 1 Dec 85 from Internationale Helsinki-Foederation, Rummelhardtgasse 2/18, 1090 Vienna.

by state patrons of the arts. "The majority does not hope for greater freedom but is afraid of losing what it has already attained." According to Bence, only those who are not being furthered by the state and thus have escaped self-censorship want to "drive the state out of art and literature."

"Please let us have culture without any police," wrote the polit-art group "Inconnu" under a Mona Lisa in a police uniform--its sticker issued on the occasion of the official cultural forum. Once, at one of its happenings, the principles of the cultural policy of the communist party were read out. Those in power would not be trifled with. Since then "Inconnu" artists have often been called up for military exercises.

Big theaters still have to have their repertoires approved by the Theater Department of the Ministry of Culture. New plays occasionally are withdrawn while they are still in rehearsal. This happened this year to the dramatization of a novel by Tibor Dery. Only some ensembles, such as that of the Kaposvar Theater or that of Studio K, managed to get fairly touchy plays through the official selection process.

In publishing, the principle of the three "t's" prevails--a balance between promoted (Hungarian: tamogattot) literature, tolerated (turt) literature and banned (tiltott) literature. The share of tolerated literature, according to the Vienna GEGENSTIMMEN opposing voices, is on the increase "because it has turned out to be the most value creating and value preserving." The most recent example of the "tolerated" category is the novel "Vidravas" (steel trap) by Kossuth Prize winner Erzsebet Galgoczi dealing with Hungary's Stalinist past. On the other hand, authors known in the West such as Gyorgy, Konrad, Istvan Eorsi or Miklos Haraszti can only publish in the samizdat. Because of a critical foreword, the "tolerated" author Sandor Csoori had a 1-year publishing ban imposed on him from which only his children's poems were exempted. A novel by Istvan Csurka was simply abridged, with the sensitive portions appearing later as short stories.

At the authors seminar of the Helsinki Federation, Gyorgy Konrad made the delicate proposal that Hungary's cultural supervisors should not be allowed to censor books or journals until after publication--a practice which had already been followed during the Horthy dictatorship. But should authors call only for a little censorship instead of a ban?

As far as Istvan Csurka is concerned, the danger is the stolid "acceptance of reality." Because "there exists no Shakespeare" there, "no Victor Hugo, no Tolstoy and no Sandor Petofi. In the reality which is being put up with, there are only dwarfs."

Pointed Interview With Cultural Head

Vienna PROFIL in German 11 Nov 85 pp 50-51

[Interview with Hungarian Minister of Culture Bela Kopeczi by Otmar Lahodynky: "Not Afraid of Orwell"]

[Text] PROFIL: The Hungarian authorities banned the gathering of writers from East and West organized by the International Helsinki Federation for

Human Rights from the Intercontinental Hotel in Budapest but then permitted it to take place in private residences. Was that a typically Hungarian solution or rather a case of helplessness in the state apparatus?

Kopeczi: In Madrid we assumed the task of organizing a political-cultural conference, the CSCE Cultural Forum, in Budapest. It was agreed that representatives of various groups of monitors could come to Budapest as tourists and make contact with the delegates. But of course they must not engage in any political activity which could have an adverse effect on the Cultural Forum. We also told the Americans that for political events it definitely was necessary to obtain the approval of the Hungarian authorities.

PROFIL: Yet the Helsinki Federation has conducted its own events at previous CSNE conferences in Belgrade, Madrid and Ottawa without asking the authorities for permission. Surely contacts between intellectuals from East and West ought to be possible without any official authorization.

Kopeczi: Private contacts of course are definitely possible. All those writers, Enzensberger or Susan Sontag, have been in Hungary before. Why did they want to talk only with oppositionists and emigres this time? This polarization runs counter to the dialogue.

PROFIL: Yet this polarization also existed in the case of the official Hungarian delegation. There oppositionists and well-known authors, such as Gyorgy Konrad or Istvan Csurka, were not represented.

Kopeczi: True, because they do not have any function as regards relations with abroad.

PROFIL: But why should writers without such functions not be allowed to meet?

Kopeczi: When we organize a cultural forum with representatives of 35 governments, of course the purpose is to achieve concrete results. The forum is no literary symposium where writers speak quite freely about any kind of subjects. In this case it is a question of cultural exchange, cooperation as far as textbooks are concerned, films joint activities in the academic sphere, the establishment of an international folklore institute in Budapest.

PROFIL: But what is really so bad about writers from East and West discussing in Budapest topics which concern every author--writers and their identity, censorship and self-censorship, writing in exile. Such symposia take place periodically in West European cities.

Kopeczi: We do not have any political pluralism, any multiparty system, in Hungary. There Hungarian domestic matters, such as our cultural policy were discussed, a manifesto of the Hungarian opposition was recited, and there was talk about political questions of the socialist countries. It was a political event.

PROFIL: ...which was allowed to take place only in private.

Kopeczi: There is a difference there. It was no public political event. If the Hungarian authorities had authorized such a thing, people all over the world would have thought that we had not only tolerated but authorized a counteraction in Hungary.

PROFIL: In Western media there was talk of pressure on the Hungarian authorities from Moscow, Prague and Bucharest.

Kopeczi: As a rule we do not stage such political demonstrations in Hungary. There exist domestic and foreign political interests of course. A small country like Hungary has even more borders than a big one. This realism does not mean that we do not support cultural variety. But we admit that there are limits. The conflicts between us and some Hungarian writers and intellectuals have to do with these limits. Sometimes we are under the impression that they think that Hungary is a superpower which can accomplish anything--as if this country did not depend on other powers and on foreign political and economic connections.

PROFIL: Are these borders being transgressed if writers merely want to limit the influence of the state on culture?

Kopeczi: We do not wish to deny at all that antagonisms and conflicts exist in Hungary. Our papers report these in a very critical manner--for instance, the growing gap between the poor and the rich. This one can read about not only in samizdat publications. But I believe we can master all these problems. Hungarian society, with the new economy, the new election system and micro-democracy, is an experimenting society. What we need is the principle of hope.

PROFIL: Many Hungarian artists hope for a further relaxation of censorship.

Kopeczi: There is no censorship in Hungary.

PROFIL: Only a comprehensive control via state publishing houses and culture officials.

Kopeczi: Readers in publishing houses also exist in the West. It is not possible there either to publish something without the publisher's consent--except by publishing it oneself, and that possibility exists here too.

PROFIL: But there are political barriers.

Kopeczi: Yes; they reside in our political consensus. The alliance policy we have conducted for 30 years has yielded positive results. But we do not believe that all cultural trends have to correspond to the value system of our social order.

PROFIL: Many Hungarian authors are being boycotted by state publishing houses.

Kopeczi: There is an important difference. In the West a writer can write whatever he wants, but he has no political function. In East Europe, literature has always played a political role. Writers always had an extraordinary political influence. After 1954, a dogmatic policy....

PROFIL: ...of the Stalinist era under Rakosi...

Kopeczi: ...aimed at exploiting this role and caused an overpoliticization of literature. After 1956 we embarked on a different cultural policy. We do not think that literature should lead the nation. Many of our oppositionists still believe it should, however. They say that have lost their illusions about socialism, but their only alternative is a bourgeois democracy.

PROFIL: At the CSCE Cultural Forum you mentioned that all important works of world literature were available in translation in Hungary. A number of books, however, such as George Orwell's "1984," appear only in samizdat editions.

Kopeczi: In this case, it is a political question. Orwell's novel "1984" was exploited for political purposes. In my opinion this novel could also be exploited against capitalism. Only because the entire Western propaganda was out to prove that the novel "1984" befits the socialist countries did we fail to publish the book. Not because we are afraid of Orwell.

PROFIL: Lately it has also been possible to buy Western papers and journals at newsstands in Hungary. Is this measure valid only for the duration of the Cultural Forum?

Kopeczi: That of course depends on our foreign-currency situation and on tourism. But it certainly is no short-term matter. If one can receive radio and television from the West, why not also the press?

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'PARASITE' LAW PROVES INEFFECTIVE, SAYS PZPR IDEOLOGICAL WEEKLY

Warsaw ZAGADNIENIE I MATERIALY in Polish No 42, 19 Oct 85 pp 12-14

[Article by Zdzislaw Niewola: "The Effects of the Fight Against Parasitism"]

[Text] As of December 1985, three years will have elapsed since the Sejm passed a statute outlining procedures to be taken against those individuals who avoid employment.

The enforcement of this law from 1 January 1983 to 30 June 1985 resulted in the compilation of a list of more than 129,000 males who neither work nor study. Eventually 56,000 individuals were removed from the list, 47,000 of them because they had either found steady employment or had begun further education. At the end of June 1985 there were still 82,724 individuals registered who were avoiding employment. Altogether 70,583 individuals were assigned work, and 49,815 of them (70 percent) actually began employment.

Public work projects were organized for individuals avoiding employment in 38 provinces. In the first quarter of this year only 16 percent of those people who were assigned to these activities actually worked, and 22 percent participated in the second quarter. The majority, however, refused to take part. When compared to the amount of work put into organizing these activities, the results were generally poor. An exception to this occurred in the Katowice province where public utility companies provided adequate preparation and supervision of the public works projects. Profits of approximately 4.9 million zlotys were earned by individuals taking part.

The experience that has been gained to date from the enforcement of this law shows that it has proved to be ineffective in the fight against social parasitism.

During the period when this law was in force, 47,081 individuals were deleted from the lists because they were employed for more than 6 months. This figure consists primarily of males who have not been corrupted to a great degree. Often they did not begin employment due to circumstances of a temporary nature or outright bad luck. In these cases the interest and help of local authorities was in fact sufficient for them to begin work.

However, the situation involving highly demoralized individuals--those consciously breaking the law or blatantly supporting themselves through criminal dealings--must be judged differently.

Of the 5,498 individuals registered from 1983-1985 on the list of those who persisted in avoiding employment, only 445 names (8.3 percent) were dropped because they had worked for at least one year.

Information from the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs shows that more than 10,300 individuals listed as being unemployed and about 1,900 individuals registered on the list of unemployed individuals did not begin employment in the latest period due to reasons which were not socially justified. Some still refused to work even after being punished by a fine or a curtailment of personal liberties.

With the exception of some public utilities, the majority of businesses expressed negative opinions concerning the work of those men sent to them under the terms of this law: These individuals do not fulfill their work duties properly, and their work is not very productive. They are difficult to work with, undisciplined, and often drink to excess. The opinion that these individuals have a demoralizing effect on their fellow workers and lower the social standing of their job is widely held.

Representatives of governmental agencies most frequently mention the following difficulties which seriously limit the effectiveness of actions designed to enforce the regulations:

--The situation in which most actions taken against individuals avoiding employment are of a simple administrative nature is caused by the lack of staff in employment and social affairs offices (insufficient number of positions, increasing proportion of female employees, other duties of a different nature being assigned to these departments in addition to duties involving employment, high staff turnover, and employee inexperience).

--Local governmental agencies working with other interested institutions involved in enforcing the regulation (the militia, workplaces, revenue offices, etc.) in limited cooperation with inefficient results especially where the quick flow of information about individuals covered under the law is concerned;

--The substandard performance of registration offices in ascertaining the addresses of those individuals summoned by administrative organs.

--The failure to report or the delayed reporting by workplaces of hirings, firings or resignations by individuals sent to those places of work under the terms of this law.

During the course of debates that were held, especially in blue-collar worker circles, in the wake of the 16th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee the view was expressed that the law on proceedings against work shirkers,

contrary to public expectations and in spite of some positive results in terms of putting people who are neither working nor in school into jobs, has not put a stop to the problem of social parasitism or even set up an effective and cohesive system for controlling it.

The social parasitism continues to be an annoyance to society, and its considerable dimensions are becoming a grave threat to the public order. In 1984, 21.6 percent of all individuals suspected of criminal activity were individuals who neither were employed nor studying. Their participation in such serious crimes as robbery, breaking into public and private property, and theft of private possessions is still considerable and accounts for between 22 percent and 44 percent of these crimes. During the first half of 1985, individuals not working comprised 24 percent of those convicted of crimes.

By passing the statute outlining procedures to be taken against individuals avoiding employment the Sejm (8th session) took the first step toward creating a system of effective action against social parasitism. The newly elected Sejm (9th session) should take into account the experience that has been gained to date from the enforcement of this law and should take further forceful steps toward creating the legal basis for a more effective solution of this problem.

It is generally felt that certain changes in the statute's provisions would increase the effectiveness of the campaign against parasitism. First of all, it is proposed that penalties be greatly increased. The penalty for refusing to participate in a public work project and other penalties are considered too lenient. It is believed that the penalties should take into consideration the character of persons avoiding employment and with criminal records. It would be more desirable for society that the individual face the threat of total deprivation of personal liberties along with the possibility of the court assigning work instead of being penalized through curtailing of personal liberties.

Experience has also shown that there are certain loopholes in the provisions of this law that are diligently exploited by those who stubbornly refuse to work. According to the law, the unemployed are required to report to the local administrative authorities after 3 months of unemployment. This obligation is ignored by some. Other accept employment for a couple of days, only to resign after obtaining a certificate stating they are employed. By so doing they avoid the proscribed penalties of the statute, and the administrative authorities are frequently at a loss for what to do.

During the course of this ongoing debate especially blue-collar worker circles, changes in the statute have been demanded. Among other things it has been demanded that governmental agencies have the power to officially summon individuals, who are neither employed nor at school instead of waiting for them to report. Another demand is that a shorter period of time be established (e.g. one month) with the understanding that if unemployment extends longer than this the individual will be considered as avoiding employment. It was also proposed that the age limit for males

affected by the statute be raised from 45 to 55 years of age and that the statute should also apply to unmarried females of productive age with no legal sources of income. It was also felt that the complicated and drawn out process of registering social parasites must be simplified and that the roles governing the summoning individuals avoiding employment and the actual service of such summons should be grounded criminal law.

At present the Ministry of Justice is working on legislation concerning proceedings to be instituted against individuals who refuse to work. It is important that any amendments to existing law in this area should provide for truly effective legal means that will prevent and combat the social curse of parasitism. As experience gained from enforcing existing laws has shown, that in order to solve the problem of social parasitism, local governmental authorities are required to undertake energetic and strenuous activities in various areas in order to implement the legal solutions to this problem. The main burden of enforcing the law rests upon the local employment offices which need to be strengthened by increasing the number of positions as well as improving employee qualifications.

13073/9190
CSO: 2600/85

PARTY'S VIEWS ON NECESSITY OF SOCIALISM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 18, 25 Sep 85 pp 16-19

Article by Univ Prof Dr Vasile Nichita for the first year of the University of Politics and Management: "The RCP's Revolutionary Conception of the World and Life. Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu's Contribution to Creative Development of the Theory and Practice of Socialist Revolution and Construction" /

Text/ The analysis of contemporary developments the RCP regularly makes indicates that in our times mankind is passing through an era of radical social and national revolutionary changes. The most important historical process, which is of worldwide significance and which in fact determines the direction and the main innovating, revolutionary content of these changes, is unquestionably the peoples' inevitable, irreversible progress on the path of socialism and communism, the only society that can put a stop to the discords of inequality and the economic, political, social and national gaps and inequities generated and perpetuated in the most varied forms by the systems based on exploitation and oppression. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "Socialism is the only alternative to the society divided into exploiting and exploited classes and the only way to socio-economic progress and a better and more just civilization on our planet."

Objective Necessity and Historical Legitimacy of Socialist Construction

The start of more and more peoples on the path of building the new order, the path of revolutionary reform of political, social and production relations and fulfillment of the socialist principles distribution and of coexistence among peoples and nations is an inevitable result of human society's development, its rise to new heights of progress and civilization, and the increasingly powerful expression of the peoples' will to self-determination in complete freedom and independence. The aspiration to a better and more just world of free endeavor, free of exploitation, oppression and the nightmare of the policy of domination and enslavement of peoples and war, has long been fostering the hopes of the masses everywhere and is still fostering them more and more today.

Upon a penetrating examination of the dialectics of the course of history, and especially the evolutionary laws, contradictions and limitations of capitalist society as well as the mechanism of its reproduction, K. Marx and F. Engels drew

the conclusion that socialism is the only alternative to the serious dysfunctions and contradictions of capitalism and predicted a number of the future society's characteristics that indicated ways and means of achieving the masses' ideals of freedom, justice and humanism. The founders of scientific socialism determined the historical mission of the working class, the masses and the peoples and the role of revolutionary action organized to fulfill the communist ideal, and they saw in the political party of the working class the decisive factor for convincing the masses and extensively involving them in the struggle for socialism. They warned against the dangers of abstract patterns and ready-made formulas in solving the far-reaching problems of socialist construction, and they pointed out that the revolutionary theory can be effective only when it is creatively applied in accordance with each nation's different historical conditions.

The theory of scientific socialism also emphasized the processual and comprehensive nature of the assertion of the principles and values of the new order and its historical superiority. F. Engels accordingly viewed socialist society as a living, dynamic organism, "as something subject to constant change and to progress." In this processual approach, socialism is only the first, initial stage of communism, and V. I. Lenin, in speaking of the questions of progress toward the higher stage of the new order aiming at the principle "From each according to his ability and to each according to his needs," wrote in "The State and Revolution," "I do not and cannot know by what stages and practical measures mankind will advance toward this higher purpose. But it is important for us to realize the complete falsity of the common bourgeois notion that socialism is something dead, petrified and laid down once and for all, whereas actually it is only with socialism that any rapid, true progress of a real mass character, with participation of the majority of the population and later with that of the entire population, will begin in all walks of social and individual life."

The ideals of socialism and communism and of social and national equity and justice are most emphatically displaying their powers of attraction and persuasion during the radical changes of the present period, when transition to the socialist system is becoming more and more definitely a characteristic feature and an irreversible trend of the world in which we are living and the struggle of the masses and the peoples against injustices and social and production relations outmoded by history and on behalf of new international relations and national sovereignty and independence is being accentuated in many countries.

The peoples are taking the path of socialism today under a wide diversity of economic, political, social, historical and national conditions inevitably leading to a variety of practical revolutionary ways and means and to multiplication and diversification of the political and social forces engaged in accomplishing this great undertaking and in stimulating the creative spirit of the revolutionary theory in an unprecedented way. Experience tells us that progress on the path of socialism and communism demands of every country's revolutionary forces, every people and every party of the working class an intensive, comprehensive and bold effort, a selfless and dedicated spirit, and resolution of many difficulties and new problems inherent in such a vast and unprecedented undertaking.

Very far-reaching problems are presented by construction of the new order when, as it often happens in the present period and is also true of Romania, the transition to socialism has been made or is being made in underdeveloped or medium developed capitalist countries, some of which have mostly agrarian and

industrially underdeveloped economies and sometimes no previous knowledge of any advanced political and democratic existence. The peoples and revolutionary forces of such countries face many complicated problems, chief among which is certainly industrialization, without which the technical-material base essential to the rapid all-around progress of the new order is impossible. That requirement very urgently presents the problem of developing the productive forces and forming modern economic structures that can make better use of the material and man-power resources, enhance labor productivity, and advance education, science and culture.

These circumstances bring out even more clearly the historic achievements of socialism, which has solved many problems in a short time that the previous systems could not touch, such as abolition of exploitation of man by man, national oppression, and the great social inequalities and injustices. Socialism is emerging in our era as a dynamic and powerful economic, political, social, scientific and cultural reality, with outstanding achievements in development of the productive forces, education and culture, a new form of social, political and democratic organization, and new experience, personnel and institutions. It is accompanied by an unprecedented expansion and maturing of the social and political forces engaged in revolutionary social reform.

Characteristics of Socialist Society

Socialist society is a distinct and qualitatively new stage in man's evolution that is formed and developed as a whole economic, social and political reality, with characteristic structures and relations essentially different from those of previous orders and as a dynamic system with developmental functions, motive forces and laws of its own.

Socialist construction has a number of common characteristics, laws and principles, but it is going on under a wide diversity of particular conditions. It involves various economic and social structures, different levels and rates of development of production and promotion of the scientific-technical revolution, various stages of maturity of social and production relations, its own ways and means of social organization and management, and distinctive elements in democratic development and mass experience in participation. The diversity of economic, social, political and national conditions as well as the different stages of socioeconomic development in which certain countries are or have to go through naturally make differences in the practical ways and means of socialist construction, in the forms and methods of organizing and managing their economies and societies as a whole, in the nature and functions of their various political institutions, etc. The RCP does not think such differences can be used to question socialism in any given country or to contrast the socialism in one country with that in other countries or with that to be accomplished in the future. No one knows the economic and social facts of a country and its internal and international political situations better than the respective people's Communist Party and their revolutionary and political forces. Therefore they alone are responsible for developing their revolutionary strategy and tactics for building the new order.

Because of the great variety of circumstances under which it goes on, socialist construction cannot be forced into any rigid patterns or molds, and no single,

universally valid models providing ready-made answers to the many problems arising in each individual case are possible or viable. On the contrary, as a dynamic, radically innovating and revolutionary undertaking of our time socialist construction and development necessarily require the presence and creative and responsible action of the masses, and they offer a broad field and unlimited possibilities for rallying the entire people to purposeful construction of their own future.

Guided by the fundamental principles of scientific socialism and by the conclusions drawn from careful and exhaustive analysis of the developments and processes of the contemporary world, the RCP views socialist society as a socioeconomic reality characterized in general by the workers' political power, socialist production relations, elimination of the exploiting classes and social antagonism, and promotion of the socialist principles of distribution. On this subject the RCP Program points out that "The nature of the political power and production relations, transfer of the state power into the hands of the workers, establishment of a socialist ownership of the main production means, abolition of exploitation of man by man, and application of the socialist principles of distribution are and always will be essential to socialism."

In this view, a country can be called socialist if there are revolutionary reforms in its social structure, in the nature of its political power, and in its production relations and if its economy and society as a whole are organized on socialist principles.

Accordingly economic relations based on socialist ownership of the production means, promotion of the socialist principles of distribution, and abolition of any forms of exploitation of man by man are fundamental and distinctive characteristics of socialist society.

Socialist ownership of the production means is particularly important in describing the new order because it ultimately determines the nature, trends and forms of development of all the relationships that are established in production, distribution, exchanges and consumption.

The RCP proceeds here from the main conclusions that (a) The entire development of human society shows that every social system has and has had its own forms of ownership of the main production means, (b) At all stages of historical development, the nature of the economic production relations is determined by the nature of ownership of the production means, (c) Socialism and communism can succeed only on the basis of the workers' common social ownership of the production means, and (d) For the new order, common state or cooperative ownership of the production means socialism produces is one of the fundamental and controlling objective laws as compared with other objective economic laws.

The new form of ownership is the foundation of material and cultural social progress and the workers' democratic rights and freedoms as well as improvement of the entire people's standard of living and civilization. It makes it necessary and possible for all members of society to participate both in socially useful work according to their individual training and aptitudes and society's needs and requirements, and in the units' entire administrative activity as well as political affairs in general.

Distribution of the national income and social product on socialist principles of social justice and equity and according to each one's work plays a vital part in the system of socialist production relations. The new criterion for distribution, according to the quantity and quality of the work performed, reflects the equality of all members of society in regard to the production means. The principle "From each according to his ability and to each according to his work," characteristic of the first stage of the new order, is an important means of motivating the members of society to develop and improve production, to manage the resources and all social wealth most carefully, to make rapid and harmonious social progress, to improve their occupational training and competence, and to make use of the creative powers of the members of society.

Knowledge and application of the general economic laws are intended to further improve the socialist production method, to stimulate the productive forces and the social and production relations, and to do away with arbitrary and random action in socioeconomic development. The purposeful and planned character of socioeconomic development and the ability to organize and manage all social activities and to combine and concentrate the resources and efforts on the main objectives that will fulfill the ideals of the new order secure the superiority of socialist society over all previous systems.

The new order is making radical changes in the class structure of society, in the nature of the social classes and groups, and in the relations among them. The exploiting classes are disappearing along with the antagonisms bred by the conflict of class interests. Socialist production relations are giving the workers the status of the socialist kind of owners, who are producers and beneficiaries of the results of their labor. The working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia are basing their existence upon collaboration and mutual aid, have vital interests in common, and are participating in social management together. Socialist social unity, a major motive force of the new order, is constantly forming and developing on the basis of common aims and interests, revolutionary alliance, joint participation in social management, and higher standards of culture and socialist awareness.

The socialist political system reflects and establishes the leadership of the working class in society, its alliance and close collaboration with the cooperative peasantry, the intelligentsia and the other categories of workers, and the social-political unity of all workers regardless of nationality. The RCP is the vital center of all Romanian society and the political force spurring the people's creative energies on the path of socialism and communism.

For the first time in history the state is becoming the supreme representative of the socialist kind of owners and producers. As the representative of the workers' supreme power and organizer of the entire people's joint wealth, the workers' revolutionary democratic state plays the telling role in uniform planning, organization and management of all socioeconomic activity according to the Unified National Plan. Intensive development of the productive forces, unprecedented expansion of socioeconomic activities, and the enormous tasks of enhancing the roles of science, education and culture objectively require further enhancement of the state's role in uniform, balanced and proportional development of society and in its all-around progress toward communism. In that spirit the 12th Party Congress outlined the main directions of development of the state's role

and pointed out the necessity of further efforts to combine the socialist state's activity harmoniously with that of the democratic bodies on the principles of democratic centralism, self-management and self-administration, providing for all workers' increasingly active participation in devising and implementing the program for national socioeconomic development.

The new order opens up a wide field for strengthening the socialist nation and developing the independent national states. Since the nation will continue to play a major role in social progress and in collaboration with other nations for a long time and especially under communism, the RCP is making every effort to develop the nation's new qualities and to even and strengthen its unity as a vital factor for the victory of socialism and communism in Romania. Meanwhile, in view of the presence of national minorities in Romania due to its historical development, Romanian society consistently applies the party's Marxist-Leninist policy to the minorities problem, guaranteeing fully equal rights and participation in social management to all citizens regardless of nationality.

The vitality of socialist society's development depends upon extensive development of education, science and culture, upon promotion of a new set of values, chief among which are the individual, revolutionary humanism and the principles of socialist ethics and justice, and upon a new quality of work and life. Socialist culture, characterized by an intensive process of ideological and axiomatic renovation and leveling, is establishing a new social self-awareness, namely socialist awareness, and it is playing a leading part in forming the new man and accelerating all-around social progress.

The RCP and its general secretary realize that socialism is only an initial stage of communism and that development of the new order is expected to prepare the way completely and in depth for the advance to communism. The whole strategy for building the fully developed socialist society in Romania, as an objectively necessary step toward asserting the superiority of the socialist system and in preparing for the transition to communism, illustrates the RCP's very profound approach to the dialectics of socialist and communist society.

Of course there is no dividing wall nor any antagonistic contradictions between the lower and the higher stage of communism. As the RCP Program points out, "There is a close dialectical unity between these two stages of communism." Some principles of the higher stage are already being applied in the first stage of the new order. The characteristics of the two stages of the communist system are ever more closely involved in the transition from socialism to communism.

The RCP regards anticipating the communist future as an essential feature of purposeful management of socialist society and an integral part of the revolutionary spirit. As Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "We must always think not only of the present but also of the future of the Romanian people and nation. Let us not for a moment forget that we have the great responsibility of securing a bright, free and independent future for the Romanian people and nation in the fully developed socialist society and communism."

The vital importance of the program documents of the RCP and of Nicolae Ceausescu's extensive theoretical works lies in the very fact that on the basis of the living spirit of Marxist thought and the facts of the nation and the present era,

they provide a comprehensive projection, which is now being fully implemented and enriched, of Romania's advance toward communism and of the main characteristics and processes peculiar to communist society.

Unity of the Social and National in the Socialist Revolutionary Process

From the earliest times all the social units known in man's development have succeeded each other on the territory of present-day Romania. Although some social units developed late because of particular historical circumstances, especially prolonged foreign domination, the advanced forces of the people always maintained the revolutionary process of continuous progress, formation of the nation and the people, and national socioeconomic development. As Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "A scientific analysis based on the historical and dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception of the formation and development of the Romanian people and nation demonstrates by force of the indisputable historical facts and events that all the changes conformed to an extensive revolutionary process of heroic struggles for their own existence, for the formation and development of the nation, and for freedom, independence and socioeconomic progress."

Since the socialist nations are an unquestionable reality and the whole task of building the new order is being accomplished within the objective framework of sovereign independent states, it is vitally important to preparation and promotion of a correct revolutionary policy to understand the relationships between the national and international objectives. Under the new conditions the national interests are those of a nation led by the working class and the Communist Party. They are components of the general interests of socialism, which are inseparable from every socialist country's vital national interests and can never be viewed apart from them. The dialectical unity of the universal and particular and the national and international is achieved through the policy of the Communist Party, the leading force of socialist construction. Solidarity and collaboration must be on the principles of full equality and respect for every party's right to devise its political policy in accordance with its national situation.

As experience tells us, the particular way in which the nature and distinctive characteristics of the new order are expressed and exploited historically is a complex and lengthy process, and its requirements, common laws and rates are closely associated with the specific facts, with the various stages of socioeconomic development from which the socialist countries started, with the particulars of building and consolidating the new socialist relations and structures, with the qualities of the subjective factor and its ability to plan, organize and manage this whole constructive undertaking. The general and particular and the objective and subjective are in an inseparable dialectical unity within this process. As the concentrated, succinct expression of historical development, the general laws must always refer to the specific facts, since the general exists only through the particular, it is the product and the expression of certain historical conditions, and it is valid only for and within those conditions. And finally, experience and the specific facts are the ones that test, correct and embody the expression of the general while verifying, modifying or refuting any of the general laws.

Any disregard of the general laws or principles of socialism as well as any disregard of the specific facts and application of models, stereotypes or patterns

not based on the facts can cause socialist construction difficulties and serious harm, jeopardizing the country's socialist development itself. The progress of the revolutionary forces inevitably depends on whether they understand the requirements of the objective laws, act in accordance with the social and national historical facts, consider the people's interests, proceed together with the working class, unite, and secure the masses' firm support.

The RCP's analyses of its own experience and that acquired on the international level indicate the dangers of the idyllic, triumphalist representation of the new order's development, the false impression that socialism can know no difficulties and that the establishment of the political power of the working class and the start of building the new society automatically lead to solution of the far-reaching problems presented by experience and to automatic application of the socialist principles. In accordance with the conclusions drawn from these analyses, the RCP regularly examines the application of the policies set both for society as a whole and for its various sectors and makes a determined effort to improve social organization and management, workers revolutionary democracy, self-management and self-administration, and the entire system of social relations.

In its extensive actions to enter the country upon new paths of progress and civilization the party has always realized that its own efforts are essential to this, on behalf of the most rational use of resources and unification of all the social forces, while promoting extensive international collaboration based upon equity and mutual benefit.

Dialectical unity of the general and particular, the national and international, and the internal and external calls for the creative, specific-historical approach to all problems in connection with construction of the new order, as each revolutionary party accordingly helps to enrich revolutionary theory and practice with its own measures and experience.

Historical Significance of the Ninth RCP Congress

As a regular stage of the revolutionary process of the Romanian people's economic and social progress, the Ninth RCP Congress inaugurated a new era in their history when it elected Nicolae Ceausescu to the highest office of party general secretary by the unanimous will of the communists and the entire people. With his encouragement and telling contribution, the Ninth RCP Congress as well as the later congresses and national conferences played a vital part in developing and activating all socialist construction in Romania, in devising a scientific, harmonious and revolutionary conception of the main courses of action toward the nation's general political, socioeconomic and cultural development, and in promoting the new creative spirit in the theory and practice of socialist construction.

The glorious course of historic achievements pursued since the Ninth RCP Congress was unquestionably influenced by the powerful personality of Nicolae Ceausescu, a tireless promoter not only of a bold and original form of revolutionary thought, initiative and action but also of the innovating conception of the content and directions of Romania's all-around socialist development.

The historic achievements of the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era" have been fully confirming the realism and viability of the Ninth RCP Congress' policies based upon

comprehensive, in-depth scientific investigation of the particular Romanian situation, upon bold and careful forecasting of the future, and upon creative application of the general principles of scientific socialism to the particular conditions in Romania and the present period.

The firm policy for national industrialization advanced by this historic party congress with Nicolae Ceausescu's telling contribution as well as the option for a high rate of accumulation provided for the formation of a strong, balanced and dynamic industry able to make better use of the nation's resources and the entire people's creative energies and able to make a decisive contribution to correction of the backwardness that once existed in Romanian society's development and to the transition to the fully developed socialist society.

The Ninth RCP Congress based its long-range goals on the need of eliminating all that was old and outmoded, dogmatism and routine, the various antiscientific ideas, and distrust of the creative power of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and the Romanian people, and it cleared the way for continued development of the revolutionary spirit and for promotion of the new in all activities. As a result Romania has become an industrial-agrarian country today with a developed modern industry and an advanced socialist agriculture. In the period following the Ninth RCP Congress the industrial output increased by more than 6 times and is now 100 times greater than in 1944, while the agricultural output increased by about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times and is now 7 times greater than in 1944. In the same period the national income increased by more than 4 times and is now 32 times greater than in 1944.

Science, education and culture were intensively developed in this period too. An important part was played by the territorial-administrative reorganization, formation of the counties, harmonious allocation of the productive forces throughout the whole country, and socioeconomic development of all localities.

The Romanian people's great victories under party leadership since the Ninth RCP Congress are a lasting foundation for a successful transition to the goals and tasks set by the 13th RCP Congress to firmly carry on with the policy of building the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism, for further development of the productive forces and improvement of social and production relations on a new basis, and for more and more intensive promotion of the revolutionary reform of Romanian society, securing its rise to new heights of civilization and progress.

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RCP VIEWS ON LEADING ROLE OF PARTY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 18, 25 Sep 85 pp 20-23

/Article by Pamfil Nichitelea and Constantin Nica for the first year of the University of Politics and Management: "The RCP's Revolutionary Conception of the World and Life. Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu's Contribution to Creative Development of the Theory and Practice of Socialist Revolution and Construction"/

/Text/ The RCP documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's rich theoretical works emphasize questions of party leadership. The party general secretary's ideological, theoretical and practical procedures after the Ninth Party Congress served to free the conception of the party from narrow and dogmatic views and lent the party's work a new scientific and revolutionary perspective. The ideas, theories and opinions developed in this historical period concerning the place and role of the revolutionary party of the working class in socialist construction placed the party's and state's domestic and foreign policies on a principled and realistic basis, helped to expand the communists' and workers' political and ideological outlook, and enhanced the RCP's contribution to enrichment of the revolutionary movement's ideological treasury and to the more effective advancement of the theory of scientific socialism in the world.

The Working Class Party and Leader of Society in the Ceausescu Era

The party's position in Romanian society and the development of its role are inherently bound up with the interests of the working class and its historical mission as a class bearing social progress and expected to lead the entire people to radical revolutionary reforms and socialist and communist construction. Historical experience shows that there is a complete dialectical unity between the advance of the working class' role as a leading social force and the party's leading political role. The historical legitimacy of the RCP's role accordingly lies in the fact that it has carried on the people's age-old struggle for social and national liberation as well as the best traditions of the socialist and workers movement in Romania and has proved to be the most faithful representative of the vital interests of the working class and the entire people.

The Communist Party has played an increasingly important part in all of Romania's social-political activities from its very beginning, and it has emphatically

asserted itself at crucial points in the nation's history as a national political force by assuming its historical role of organizer and leader of the struggle for fulfillment of the workers' vital aims and for national freedom and independence and social progress.

Although outlawed and subjected to a savage reign of terror, the RCP very emphatically asserted its ideological-political superiority and identified itself with the nation's higher interests. Under the Communist Party's leadership the heroic Romanian working class demonstrated its inexhaustible revolutionary energies, its spirit of self-sacrifice and its ability to take the lead in the entire people's struggle against exploitation and oppression in defense of their national existence. The RCP's strong ties to the working class proved to be the lasting basis for the unity of all the nation's advanced, democratic, patriotic and progressive forces in the battle for justice, freedom and complete national independence. Under the very hard conditions of Nazi rule the Communist Party was the organizer and leader of the national antifascist resistance, led the effort to extricate Romania from the unjust war into which the ruling circles had thrown it, and accomplished the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation, an act of vital importance in Romanian history. The historic events of August 1944 proved the RCP's ability to apply the revolutionary theory of the role of the working class and the need of its united action creatively to the particular Romanian conditions and to unite all of Romania's progressive forces and the broadest social categories in defense of the people's vital interests.

In the process of continuing and extending the revolution the acquisition of the entire political power by the working class in alliance with the peasantry and the other categories of workers was a critically important point in the emergence and confirmation of the RCP as a revolutionary political force that had assumed its mission of the highest responsibility, confirmed by the nation's sovereign will, of organizing and directing socialist and communist construction in Romania. Accordingly the RCP's confirmation as a leading political force in society is the outcome not of any subjective wishes but of a regular objective process of historical development. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "The RCP gained unanimous recognition of its leadership in Romanian society by the dedicated and selfless fidelity with which it served the highest interests of the working class, the workers and the entire people ever since it was founded."

The party's role as a leading political force in Romanian society was confirmed more and more definitely as socialist construction was developed and extended. As it led this great undertaking, the party proved to be the force able to provide and apply realistic and clear scientific measures for Romania's socioeconomic development on the course of progress characteristic of the socialist system, in close unity with the people from whom it sprang and is constantly renewed. The party's social leadership is accordingly the basis of the Romanian people's great achievements in the years of socialist construction and especially in the period since the Ninth Party Congress. The party's leadership secured intensive development of the productive forces, formation of a modern industry, cooperativization of agriculture and development of its technical-material base, unification of the socialist economy, growth of the national income, and further improvement of the entire people's welfare. The definitive victory of the new social relations established the most just and the most advanced society, namely socialist society, on Romanian soil.

The Ninth Party Congress was a vitally important point in the development of the RCP and of all socialist Romanian society and in the rise of the party's leadership in national affairs to a new peak. It inaugurated the most productive period in the whole era of socialist construction in Romania, a period called the "Ceausescu Era" with warranted patriotic pride.

Under the influence of the party general secretary's creative and dynamic revolutionary conception the Ninth RCP Congress placed a basic emphasis on an extensive and productive scientific preparation of measures essential to progress, accelerated development of the productive forces through industrial and agricultural modernization, extended socialist democracy, and effective and increasingly widespread mass participation in all social activities. Upon review of the 20 years following the historic 1965 Congress the conclusion is clear that over those years the preparations for the new order's further progress were always based on the party's careful analysis of the course of social development resulting from study of experience, social-political affairs, and the new realities.

This is graphically reflected in the party programs in the last 20 years and the general policy set by the 13th Congress, which were based on a sustained effort to examine the requirements of the objective laws and to determine and evaluate the needs of each stage of the nation's development correctly. Accordingly the radically innovating course characteristic of Romanian society in the last two decades is based upon the party's realistic and creative policy and its ability to devise the best solutions to the economic and social problems in the light of the objective laws.

The Party's View of Its Role As Vital Center of the Nation

As a purposefully constructed system, socialism is undergoing a fundamental change in the proportion between the random and the purposeful in the considerable gain in the role of the subjective factor, which is expected to provide thorough knowledge and scientific evaluation of the facts and requirements of social progress and to form the general political policy in keeping with the masses' aspirations and the conditions of each developmental stage. In this connection Romanian social-political experience shows that the development of the Communist Party as a fundamental, purposeful subjective factor and as a political force for efficient social management has been and is continually improved in its theoretical conception and in its practical ways and means.

In consideration of these requirements and the radical revolutionary social reforms and by applying the general truths of scientific socialism to the facts of Romanian society, Nicolae Ceausescu developed an original scientific conception whereby the party asserts itself more and more positively as the vital center of the entire nation, disseminating the bold thinking that will secure revolutionary social reform and the power that inspires the creative energies of the masses and the entire people. This dynamic conception of the party and its role in the present developmental stage of the Romanian social-political system is objectively determined by evaluation of the qualitative changes made in Romanian society. It is essentially a matter of development of the productive forces on new levels and improvement of social and production relations, of increasingly pronounced social leveling as the social leadership of the working class and socialist democracy develop, of general improvement of the masses' awareness, and of further

consolidation of the people's unity around the party. Accordingly, by asserting itself as the faithful and authorized representative of Romanian socialist society's aspirations, by exercising political leadership jointly with the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and all workers regardless of nationality, and including over 3.5 million members in its ranks, the RCP is proving to be a true mass party completely integrated in society. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "In the present stage of Romanian socialist society's development, when socialist democracy is being developed and the democratic structure for mass participation in management of all sectors is being improved, it is the RCP's high mission to serve as the organizing and driving political force for all socioeconomic activity. It is and will continue to be the vital center of operations of Romanian socialist society."

Essentially, the principle of the party's role as the vital center of society requires exercise of its functions of leadership from within society and its institutions, where it can better stimulate the masses' energies and initiative and broaden socialist democracy. The RCP Program says, "The party's leadership must be exercised not from without but within the social, economic and state bodies. That is the natural and regular process of further development of the party's leadership, of consolidation of the entire people's unity around it, of improvement of the masses' general awareness, and of the people's increasingly active participation in social management."

In this view the party exercises its leadership primarily through scientific determination of the directions of national development and the general political policy that guides and directs all activities, through a sustained and comprehensive organizational and educational effort, and through the advanced example it sets every communist in his work and in all social-political activity.

There is an inherent correlation between preparing the general policy and program for national socioeconomic development and implementing them, and it is based on the principle that in the new order the party's political management function reflects its complete unity with the people. Experience acquired since the Ninth Party Congress tells us that party activity is inseparable from the masses and the people as a whole because the party activists and all communists in the socioeconomic units and party, mass and public organizations participate directly in the extensive process of preparing and implementing party policy and any tasks.

In the stage of building the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism, the party's ties with the masses of workers are being expanded and diversified, becoming increasingly profound and acquiring new characteristics against the background of development of socialist democracy and increasingly pronounced promotion of workers self-management. The formation of a new and democratic organizational structure, unique of its kind, on the initiative and under the leadership of the party and its general secretary provides a regular and productive dialogue between the party and the people as well as new forms of collaboration and cooperation for the nation's steady progress on the path of socialism and communism. In this broad democratic system party leadership prevents confusion or substitution of party and state institutions, maintains and develops their particular functions, enhances the roles of the state and the workers-revolutionary democratic bodies and extends their harmonious cooperation.

As the vital center of socialist society, the party serves as a powerful active force, organizing and stimulating all socioeconomic and political activity. In that way the party provides effective political leadership in all social activities from material production to ideological-educational work and from improvement of social relations to scientific, artistic and cultural activity in all units and workers collectives, constantly improving its performance of its political functions. Social experience confirms the impossibility of limiting the party's role to any given fields (ideological or cultural-educational) and leaving the other sectors (economic, political, technical-scientific) to chance.

The particular nature of the party's leadership, the growth of its role and the need of solving the practical problems promptly and with the greatest social benefit require more emphasis on strengthening the party, raising its ideological and political level, and enhancing its organizing power and unity. Although the party is going to perform its historical role for a long time to come, its functions, organizational forms and activity will certainly change with the historical stages in the future socialist and communist society's development. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, the party like any social body must keep improving with the great revolutionary social changes if it is to perform its highly responsible mission in socialist society.

Nicolae Ceausescu's theory of the party's increasingly close integration in society is particularly important in this respect. It is a requirement based on the particular facts of the present stage of Romanian society's development because it enables the party to include all social activities more fully in its leadership.

The vital policy of improved organization and management of party activity and improvement of its working methods and approach is an intrinsic component of the conception of the party's complete integration in society. As the RCP general secretary said, the party's internal democracy must be further developed as a part of socialist workers democracy and the role of collective work must be enhanced and closely combined with a corresponding increase in the responsibility of every communist and all communists for performance of the assigned tasks. To that end it is of essential importance to increase the sense of responsibility for knowledge of the facts and good organization of the work, the role of the party activists, and the communists' participation in development and solution of the problems.

Ultimately, the party's leadership is reflected in the way every communist and every activist does his work. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "When we speak of party leadership we do not mean any abstract idea or slogan but the practical daily work whereby every communist and every activist as well as every party organization and committee up to the Central Committee combines the workers' efforts and acts in close touch with the masses, remaining always in their midst, working and living together with them, and sharing in their daily lives, cultural-educational activities and entertainment."

Full integration in society, increasingly close involvement of party activity with the entire people's work, and the communists' participation in all social activity in constant contact with the masses of workers and the people are sure ways for the party to keep enhancing its leadership and to develop as the vital center of the Romanian socialist nation.

The 13th RCP Congress on Development of the Party's Leadership

The programs approved by the 13th RCP Congress anticipate Romania's entry upon a new and higher stage of the revolution in the next five-year plan, a new stage of social and economic development. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the Congress, in the years to come we shall take new, untrodden and unknown paths, so that the activity of the party, of all its organizations and of every communist must be imbued with the revolutionary spirit, with selfless dedication in the service of the nation's highest interests, and with determination to promote all that is new and advanced in social thought and practice.

The principles of vital theoretical and practical importance concerning development of the party's leadership in the present stage of Romanian socialist society's development that are exhaustively set forth in the documents of the 13th RCP Congress require the party and its organs and organizations to be constantly guided by the revolutionary conception and to always act in the revolutionary spirit in order to promote the new and do away with all that is old and obsolete.

The great goals approved by the 13th Party Congress call for ever closer involvement of party activity with the work of the entire people and the communists' participation in all social activity in constant contact with the working masses and the entire people,* always making certain that the entire party policy will be the true expression of the will and interests of the working class and the people. The party general secretary said, "In the spirit of the documents we have approved and of the decisions of the 13th Party Congress, we shall have to make every effort to strengthen the RCP in all respects and to further expand the party's ties with the masses and the people, for it is solely in this close, inseparable unity of the party and the people that Romania's steady progress toward socialism and communism is guaranteed!" The documents approved by the 13th RCP Congress accordingly require the party organs and organizations to take very firm and determined measures henceforth to improve their working methods and approach and to further the party organizations' capacity for uniting and mobilizing all the workers' efforts to carry out the party's decisions.

As we know, in view of the results obtained, the Romanian economy's real potentials for progress, and the requirements of the present stage of national development, the 13th RCP Congress' decisions even more strongly emphasize the need of intensive development of the economy to meet the demands of the new stage of the technical-scientific revolution by modernizing the means of labor and the production structure and raising the technical and qualitative standards of the products. Particular importance is also attached to the aims of accomplishing the new agrarian revolution, which require a general change in the peasants' way of working, living and thinking and an agricultural output that can fully meet the entire people's consumer needs. The decisions of the 13th RCP Congress call for very firm continuation of the policy of developing the productive forces as a factor critical to general social progress, through proper distribution of the national income between the consumption fund and the development fund so as to secure socialist accumulation and expanded reproduction. Socialist ownership will be further improved and developed as the sole basis for the progress of socialist and communist society. Special emphasis will also be placed on growth of labor productivity and of the profitability and effectiveness of all economic activity. As Nicolae Ceausescu says about this, further development of the

*As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the 13th Party Congress.

national wealth and growth of effectiveness, profitability and the national income are the only ways to secure the nation's all-around progress and the people's greater material and cultural welfare.

Development of the party's role and improvement of its functions are the guarantees of these great objectives. To that end the documents of the 13th RCP Congress have formulated new and increasingly high duties for the party organs and organizations and all communists. The Report to the 13th RCP Congress points out the need of always keeping the active, innovating and revolutionary spirit of the party alive and of further efforts to improve the party's leadership in keeping with the requirements of the new stage and of the programs for socioeconomic development. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Let us make every effort so that the RCP will always be a revolutionary party, stimulating all development and preserving the Romanian people's revolutionary, patriotic and militant spirit."

On the principle that construction of the new order is the outcome of the purposeful activity of the masses and the entire people, the RCP is emphasizing formation of the new man's awareness, the advanced social and moral values, patriotic awareness and the revolutionary spirit. This effort has been brilliantly embodied in the RCP Ideological Program, crafted by the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982 and ratified by the 13th RCP Congress as an integral part of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romanian's Advance Toward Communism. The documents of the 13th RCP Congress accordingly stress the requirement for the party organs and organizations always to be guided by the revolutionary conception and always to act in the revolutionary spirit.

The Ceausesc Era As a Higher Stage of Romanian Society's Historical Development

The victory of the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation 40 years ago was the culmination of a long revolutionary process and a result of the RCP's struggle to unite the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia as well as all the national forces in defense of the entire people's interests and Romania's integrity and independence, and it inaugurated a new era in Romanian history, one of great revolutionary reforms. In that brief period the Romanian people progressed through several historical stages of socioeconomic development, from the bourgeois-landowner order to the fully developed socialist society. The strong assertion of the whole nation's creative power under the Communist Party's leadership was the deciding factor for the great innovations Romanian society experienced in that historical period. In only 40 years Romania was transformed from a country with an underdeveloped industry and a backward agriculture into an industrial-agrarian country with a strong modern industry, a socialist agriculture in full progress, and a steadily rising material and cultural living standard.

The complete and definitive victory of the new order, the increasingly intensive prosperity of socialist Romania, and the beginning of construction of the fully developed socialist society created the objective conditions and background for the full assertion of national independence and sovereignty. This fulfilled, on a higher level, the Romanian people's centuries-old aspirations to live in freedom in a unified, independent and prosperous state and to develop peaceful collaboration with their neighbors and all peoples of the world.

The stage inaugurated 20 years ago by the Ninth Party Congress stands out brilliantly in this period of extensive revolutionary reforms, a stage characterized by unprecedented economic and social vitality and by structural changes that have been profoundly influencing Romania's all-around progress and its steady advance on the course of socialism, communism, and a higher material and cultural civilization.

The Ninth Party Congress opened the way to some radical qualitative changes in all sectors of Romanian society as it took up in a new and profoundly creative spirit the vital problems of construction of the socialist system, development of the productive forces, further improvement of social and production relations, social organization and management, enhancement of the entire people's material and cultural welfare, and Romania's free and independent advancement among the nations of the world. As Nicolae Ceausescu said about this, "The Ninth Party Congress unleashed creative energies, did away with a number of stereotypes and dogmas, and assigned the RCP the task of building socialism with the people and for the people, proceeding from the specific Romanian conditions and applying the principles of dialectical materialism and scientific socialism as well as the generally valid truths to the realities of Romania. And it was the elimination of those dogmas and stereotypes that unleashed the Romanian people's energies and brought us the great achievements of today that have raised Romania to higher levels of all-around development in all fields."

In keeping with the dynamic, innovating spirit that characterizes the whole historical period inaugurated 20 years ago, the RCP has been consistently promoting the principle that the superiority of the socialist system does not assert itself automatically but requires sustained efforts toward thorough study of the facts of each stage, without evading the defects and shortcomings at any given point, in order to secure social management in conformity with the objective trends of social development.

In the period following the historic congress of 1965, socialist Romania made great and important progress in intensive development of the productive forces, consistent industrialization, and development of the other economic sectors, securing the necessary conditions to raise the people's living standard and the level of civilization of all society and to strengthen the nation's material and cultural potential as well as its independence and sovereignty. These achievements emphatically illustrate the originality of the measures taken by the RCP and the state in solving the basic problems of social organization and management, their creative application of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception to the particular social-historical conditions in Romania, and their in-depth study of the new phenomena and aspects appearing in the course of revolutionary social reform and in international affairs.

In the period inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress the Communist Party emerged more and more definitely as the vital center of Romania and improved its forms and methods of operation. It is to the indisputable credit of Nicolae Ceausescu that he constantly urged further consolidation of the party's ties with the masses and always made certain that the whole policy of the party and the socialist state was based upon the will and highest interests of the people.

While creatively applying the general truths of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception to Romania's specific conditions, the RCP and its general

secretary developed new theories and concepts that make a useful contribution to the correlation of Romania's experience with socialist construction, to the development of revolutionary theory and practice, and to the enrichment of the treasury of ideas of Marxist thought in accordance with the new conditions and requirements of the present period.

In the last 20 years the party has strengthened and widely developed its ties with the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the entire people and it has performed its role as the leading force in society by working together with the people and for the people, proving by force of the facts the fundamental truth that socialism and democracy are inseparable and that the socialist society we are building in Romania is serving the Romanian people's aspirations and wishes and is functioning in accordance with the general will of the people and their aspirations to socioeconomic progress and to further improvement of their material and cultural well-being.

Progress on the path of socialism and communism is a highly responsible purposeful social undertaking guaranteed by the party's performance of its function as the vital center of the whole nation. Consolidation of the party's leadership and improvement of its forms of organization and activity according to the tasks set by the 13th Party Congress and the requirements of the great goal of building the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism are the guarantees of Romania's rise to new peaks of progress and civilization.

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Kogalniceanu speaks for the "pleasure of appearing before the public" (part II, page 11). We are convinced that M. Kogalniceanu insisted on being in the parliament not to satisfy his vanity of listening to himself, as G. Penelea understood, but to be able to implement reforms which he dreamt of with a view to modernizing the country. He was a convinced supporter of parliamentary life. Regarding this activity, the publishing house could have been easily convinced had it read the discourse entitled modestly "Speech Against the Address Given at the Meeting of the General Assembly of Romania of 9 February 1863." He was a close collaborator of Cuza during the period the Statute, which introduced the bicameral system into the political life of the country, was being worked out. But, the publishing house presents to us, in the person of the famous statesman, a simple vain person who feels satisfaction when he dominates a group of deputies such as Sefendache, Gilca, Cita Niculescu, men with intellects of very low quality. In order to show what a great orator M. Kogalniceanu was, it is not necessary to compare him with such obscure people. He appears great even if he is compared to those more prominent politicians and orators of the respective time.

In the introduction of part II, on page 19, emphasis is placed on the inexcusable interference of the Minister of the Interior in the development of the parliamentary elections.

In addition to the factual material provided by the parliamentary debate, the publishing house also resorts with great satisfaction to the "Files" prepared following a "careful investigation" by V. Russu and D. Vitcu in that direction. The facts extracted with great pleasure from these two sources are exact. A dedicated historian has two tasks from which he should not digress: 1. presenting the facts correctly; 2. explaining to the reader how the things were. Amateur historians usually comply only with the first obligation, no longer being in the position to also comply with the second one. And G. Penelea is satisfied with taking only the facts from the study of those two Iasi researchers, without their comments and interpretations; she does the same with the parliamentary debates. The publishing house never gives the reader the answer to the question of why Kogalniceanu does all these things. Thus it presents to us a distorted, false Kogalniceanu, falsifier of elections, who recruits for himself a parliament which, out of vanity, he can dominate. The reality was completely different.

Other big misrepresentation which the publishing house does with full knowledge referred to the Parliament of Romania. Not long ago, the Publishing House of the Academy published a valuable history of parliamentary life in Romania, which deserves every praise. In it is pointed out the role which this prestigious institution had in creating modern Romania. Georgeta Penelea presents to us a completely false parliament, a legislative assembly for which Kogalniceanu, has "only a demonstrative role" (ibid. part I, p 84). On page 16 of part II, speaking about the subject of debates and the interest which it presented for the deputies, she tells us: "But the budget, as well as the elections, made the deputies, who otherwise slept on the benches, participate in the debates."

We believe that there is no greater insult than this one against the basic institution of any parliamentary state. It is claimed that this country was

PUBLISHER CRITICIZED FOR MISREPRESENTATIONS OF STATESMAN KOGALNICEANU

Cluj-Napoca TRIBUNA in Romanian 5 Sep 85 p 6

[Article by Vladimir Diculescu: "Misrepresentations in a Critical Edition"]

[Text] A decade ago, the presidium of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania took the initiative of publishing, in a critical edition, the works of M. Kogalniceanu. His entire works, according to their specific character, were divided into several volumes, each of these being given for publication to one or more persons considered competent in the respective fields. The speeches of the famous political figure were also included in these series under the title of "Oratory." Each topic is published in one or more volumes, depending on its size, and the volumes are divided in several parts when necessary. In the lines which follow we will discuss the aspect announced in the title, in the four parts of volume II of the so-called "Oratory" (lectures, additions, remarks), given by the Publishing House of the Academy to Georgeta Penelea for publication.

The fact that a number of historical misrepresentations, to put it mildly, were made in the introduction to part II is a serious matter. In the first place Kogalniceanu--the political figure--is slandered. On page 21 it is stated: "The fact that Mihail Kogalniceanu--all-powerful minister of Prince Cuza, outspoken opponent of parliamentarism (our emphasis), fiery and dominating temperament was invited to join the government in the fall of 1968 confirms the indisputable prestige which he enjoyed." In another part it speaks of the "Caesarism" of Kogalniceanu and his "dictatorial" tendencies, as a person who supported Cuza in carrying out the coup d'etat (cf. part I, p 6). All these facts are inexact, but correspond, among other things, to those maintained by conservative landlords, personal and political enemies, who could not forgive and forget the coup d'etat and the law of 1864. Thus presented, Kogalniceanu appears to us as a man with a totally immoral attitude. A man who from 1857 to 1891 stepped forward as a candidate and participated efficiently in the parliamentary life of Romania (with two absences), is presented, essentially, as an adversary of parliamentary life. Supplementing the statements in this introduction with those on page 8, part I of the volume, where it is stated that "Instead of a dialogue...in the 1864-1865 session there was a monologue by prime minister, interrupted by weak applause," so that the following statement, which is, let us stress again, completely false, can be added:

led by a parliament of sleepers (among whom we cite several names: I.C. Bratianu, C.A. Rosetti, Manolache Costache, P. Carp, Vasile Boerescu, etc.), with only a few staying awake, such as Sefendache, Galca and Cita Niculescu, who made superhuman efforts to stop Kogalniceanu; we find that this is all too much exaggerated, no matter how humorous it seems to the Publishing House.

During the last 50 years many good and bad things have been written on the modern history of Romania and on the politicians of the 19th century. But nobody dared till now to present in such a way Kogalniceanu and his work and the basic institution of constitutional Romania--the Parliament. What ought to be pointed out by the Publishing House is the fact that, during his life, Kogalniceanu was attacked, both in writing and verbally, by very many adversaries, both political and personal. But after his death nobody ever dared anything in that direction. Georgeta Penelea must ask herself a basic question: Why has all the world respected his memory until the year 1980?

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YUGOSLAVIA

ARMY LCY DISCUSSES STANDARD OF LIVING, FUNDS

AU211943 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2416, 31 Oct 85 pp 5, 10

[Excerpts] A second subject discussed by the LC Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] at its 20th session held last Thursday [24 October] was some current questions of the standard of living of regular army personnel and civilian personnel working in the YPA. The opening speech was made by Dr Micho Cusic. Having stressed that a continuously falling standard of living in the past few years leads to a serious endangering of the material position of some of the officers and civilians, Cusic went on to say:

This year efforts were made to ensure that any further drop in the standard of living of the regular army personnel and the civilian personnel be checked and that conditions be created for a gradual growth in the coming period. From this point of view, this year may be considered a certain turning point.

The realization of this orientation was accompanied by many difficulties. The greatest problem was presented by the steep rise in prices and the cost of living on the one hand, and the shortage of financial resources on the other. When the financial plans for 1985 were drafted, one reckoned with inflation of about 40 percent. However, even now it can be estimated that it will be close to 80 percent. Under such conditions, the financial resources approved are not sufficient to cover the planned YPA expenditure. An adjustment of the budget was requested and was approved, as you know. It should be stressed that some tendentious interpretations appeared in public information media in connection with the budget adjustment, but the truth is that only those funds were asked for that compensate the higher YPA expenditure because of inflation increasing above the rate calculated in the plan. This is also confirmed by the estimate that the YPA budget this year, despite the adjustment, will amount to 4.82 percent of the national income instead of the 5.2 percent envisaged in the plan for financing the YPA.

Despite the difficulties stipulated, the YPA made maximum efforts and in our assessment ensured that the standard of living of its personnel moved in conformity with the policy adopted for this year. The measures that were taken were taken on time and ran in several directions. This is best shown by the situation in the several subsectors of the standard of living. Thus, for instance, the fall in the real value of personal incomes of regular army personnel was checked this year. Certain changes were also made in the

system of personal incomes. The basic premises in these changes were 1) a search for solutions which will positively influence the moral-political state, the combat buildup, and the efficiency of the YPA, and 2) a firmer linking of personal incomes with work and results of work, while taking into account the existing characteristics of service in the YPA. The building of the personal incomes system of regular army personnel will be continued in the coming period.

For the purpose of bringing the personal incomes of civilians into the closest possible dependence on the nature of the work they do and on the results of labor achieved, new Regulations of Personal Incomes of Civilians Working in Units and Institutions Financed From the Budget have been issued.

The general assessment by the commands of the army regions and the organizational units of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense of the new system of personal incomes is positive, but some shortcomings have been pointed out in connection with the classification of jobs within groups, the evaluation of the result of work, and especially the effect of the years of service necessary for a pension [uticaj penzijskog staza]--which will be reduced--on the amount of personal income.

At the beginning of this year, there were about 25,500 applications for apartments. Out of these, about 22,000 were applications by persons serving in the YPA units and institutions which are financed from the budget, and about 3,500 were by persons working in revenue generating institutions. Out of the total number of apartment applications, about 12,000 or 50 percent are by people who have no apartment of their own, and the other are by people who want a larger apartment or have an apartment of their former place of work.

The waiting period for people who have no apartment of their own amounts to 4 and 1/2 years, and for those who have a right to a larger apartment about 6 years and 7 months. It follows that the average waiting period for an appropriate apartment in the YPA amounts to about 5 years and 6 months. Considering the difficulties in providing the funds as well as the reduction in the volume of housing construction, no essential change in the rate of solving housing problems can be expected in the coming period, either.

Taken as a whole, the provision of housing in the YPA, within the context of the provision of housing in society, may be assessed as favorable.

Referring to the employment of family members of regular army personnel and civilian personnel, Cusic pointed out that this is a very great problem which is constantly being generated through transfers according to the needs of the service. The unemployment of wives of regular army personnel is about 42 percent, except in the territory of the Ljubljana army region where unemployment is only about 15 percent. No data on the employment of children are available, but it is assessed that unemployment among them is large. The situation among civilian personnel is much more favorable for the simple reason that these cadres are territorially stable. Only about 23 percent of spouses are unemployed. The opportunities for resolving this problem more

quickly are very slender, both in the YPA and in society in general, where more than 1 million people are seeking employment.

Further in his speech Cusic spoke about the conditions for rest and recreation, winter supplies, issue of uniforms, children's allowances, and some other elements of the standard of living of regular army personnel and civilian personnel working in the YPA.

He concluded his speech with data on the standard of living of the soldiers which, in contrast with the standard of living of career officers [stalni sastav], has been kept at the level reached earlier regardless of the inflationary, market, and other disturbances in the economic flows of the country.

Dr Nikola Cubra: Truth About the Budget Adjustment

As regards the material essence of the budget adjustment, it is essential to bear in mind the fact that it is not an increase of the funds for financing the YPA but only a partial compensation for what has been lost through a higher increase of prices and inflation. This means that the YPA, proposing that this difference be made good through the adjustment, did not ask for any additional funds and did not expand the volume of its spending and assignments in 1985 beyond the 4.82 percent of the national income as determined in documents on the socioeconomic development of the country and the Law on the Overall Volume of the Federal Budget.

The need to make good these funds in fact arose from the unrealistic estimate of the basic indicators of economic development, especially the rate of inflation. It is known that, when the federal budget was being drafted, one reckoned with 40-percent inflation, a rate of exchange of 210 dinars to the dollar, and a 20-percent average growth of personal incomes. It was clear even then that the nominal value of these indicators will be higher, because of which it was made a legal obligation to revalue the funds for financing the YPA if the inflation rate during the year exceeds the forecast.

Not knowing or insufficiently entering into the reasons for the revaluation of the funds for financing the YPA, a number of information media informed the public incompletely and unobjectively. Views could be heard that the federal budget adjustment does not take into account society's real ability to pay, that it is a fresh burden on the economy and an encouragement to inflation, and that it is not in keeping with the stabilization efforts of society. Although such views did not refer directly to the revaluation of the funds for financing the YPA, but to the federal budget in general, they cannot avoid being connected with the army budget as well, especially in cases when it was stressed that the largest share of the adjustments refers to the YPA.

The communists in the YPA cannot accept any interpretations of the adjustments to the federal budget for 1985 which purport to show that the YPA has received additional funds. This is extreme disinformation to the public, regardless of whether it arises from not knowing the facts or from

intentions which cannot be assessed as well-meaning. [end of report on Cubra statement]

Speaking about some questions of the standard of living of regular army personnel and civilian personnel working in the YPA, Metodija Stefanovski stressed that everything that happens in society--a constant rise of prices, inflation, slowness in solving some vital problems--is naturally reflected in the situation in the YPA, above all in the sphere of the standard of living. By improving the remuneration system we do not always achieve the desired results, because the increase of prices and inflation reduces their positive effects.

Stefanovski pointed out that we must in the future intensify our ideo-political work so as to reduce the scope for the activities of those who wish to exploit our difficulties. In this sense we should increase and improve the information to the people so that it should be clear to every officer and soldier what difficulties and shortcomings we are meeting, and especially what the prospects of getting out of the crisis are.

Commenting on the assessments, positions, and tasks which the committee adopted at this session, Georgije Jovicic in conclusion of the discussion said that the standard of living is a question of first-class importance, because it directly reflects on the moral-political state and the combat readiness of the units. The steps and tasks to preserve it are successfully implemented despite the economic difficulties which our entire society is experiencing. Certain omissions made in the system of remunerating the civilians will be eliminated with the further improvement of this system, Jovicic said. He called on all organs and organizations of the LC in the YPA to involve themselves even more in finding solutions which will bring the standard of living of YPA personnel into accord with work and results of work, the requirements of the YPA development, and the material possibilities of society.

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YUGOSLAVIA

KOSOVO REINSTATES FORMER OPSTINA

[Editorial Report] The 23 October 1985 issue of the Pristina daily JEDINSTVO in its supplement DELEGATSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian publishes a draft law approved by the Kovoso Assembly on 16 October 1985 which provides for the reformation of a previously existing opstina, Malisevo, in this province, to be formed from parts of Klina, Glogovac, and Suva Reka opstinas. In discussing the reasons for the additional opstina, the law says that "certain opstinas in the province are too large with a fairly large number of inhabitants and with many settlements too removed from the opstina capital, a situation which is reflected in the [reduced] possibilities for realizing the rights and duties of working people and citizens of these areas....This is especially true for the area of the former Malisevo Opstina.

"Uneven economic development of the province's opstinas and the growing number of opstinas which are being treated as economically underdeveloped areas is a reflection of the growth of migratory movements of the population to more developed opstinas and urban centers which has intensified the economic and social problems of these more developed opstinas and city centers. In fact, in the recent period there has been a concentration of material [better] conditions mainly in larger opstinas centers, as a result of which the more uniform development of all parts of the opstinas has been neglected or not fully achieved."

Malisevo Opstina is expected to contain 40 settlements with 97.96 percent (34,146 persons) of its population Albanian and 1.2 percent Serb. The draft law noted that the elimination of this opstina in 1965 had had negative consequences, and that "in the last 10 years this area, in addition to a number of contradictions, has become characterized as having a very high population increase."

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